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THE SHADOW-PLAY IN ANCIENT INDIA

By

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Translated from German

By

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In the pages 455 ff of Z.D.M.G., 58 Thomas Bloch has communicated about the Greek theatre, which he has discovered in India. It occurs in a cave of the Rāmgarh hill in Surgujā, the biggest of the tributary states of Chota-Nāgpur. This cave—the so-called Sītabenga cave, contains also an inscription, which has been published by Ball at the page 243 of the *Indian Antiquary*, 1873 and then by Cunningham at the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* I plate XV (Calcutta 1877) after the photograph and the paper-copy, which Beglar prepared in December 1875.

To conclude from the beginning the inscription is composed in the *Āryā* metre. The beginning has been correctly read by Bloch and indicated as : *adipayanti hadayaṁ svabhāvagarukavayo* (rest uncertain). "The poets, who are naturally worthy of honour, warm the heart." The second part of the inscription has not yet been indicated. Bloch has placed before the view a detailed description of the cave[1] by which he could provide a better facsimile of the inscription than that offered by Cunningham. It is advisable, therefore, preliminarily to give up all attempts of supplying the meanin ꞷ.

Bloch rightly considers that when such a praise of the poetic art occurs upon the wall of a cave, artistically carved out of the rock, the same must have been fixed there since the cave was utilised as a place for giving the demonstration of the works of the poetic art before a bigger public. Bloch informs further that the arrangement is quite suitable for the purpose.[2] A row of seats are hewn in the terrace-formed semi-circle one appearing upon another,—which are partitioned again by beam-like lines absolutely in the pattern of the Greek theatre. From each of these places one could have a convenient look upon the natural platform, that occurred below and attributed to itself the appearance of a small stage. The theatre provided room for thirty spectators. At the mouth of the cave there ocurrred two deep holes within the rock, where beams were placed for suspending the curtains, by which the rush of cold wind was stopped. According to Bloch the arrangement after the classical pattern cannot be mistaken. If it was correct it becomes incumbent upon us to admit that the Greek influence must have been significant upon the Indian soil. It is doubtless that after the establishment of the Greco-Indian kingdom from the 2nd century B.C. there happened a contact and intercourse between the Greek and the Indian life in the North Western India. The Indian art distinctly shows the Greek features in the Gāndhāra sculptures from the time of the birth of Christ. That the Greek influence remained palpable bar in a place in the eastern India, whose account we come to know only in 1758 A.D. and that the place was extremely inaccessible[3] due to its geographical situation are absolutely new facts, which deserve investigation.

In Z.D.M.G., 58 Lüders has shown from the evidence of artificial poetry and epigraphical literature a series of passages, where there is statement about the caves used for the identical or similar purposes, as the Sītabenga cave. In the *Kumārasambhava* (I. 10) in connection with the description of the Himālaya Kālidāsa speaks of the cave-houses (*darīgṛha*), in which the forest-dwellers cultivate love with their women by the light of the self-lighting plants and where at the entrances clouds do the function of the curtain, behind which the wives of the Kiṁpuruṣas feeling shy conceal themselves, when their lovers divest them of their garments. In the *Meghadūta* (I. 25) he mentions the stone-houses (*śilāveśman*) of the mountain Nīcais at Vidiśā, which discharge the fragrance of love (scent of the bodies) of the prostitutes, Lüders has pointed out to a still older inscription of Mathurā, in which the presentations of the hetaera Nādā are mentioned. Nādā speaks of herself as the daughter of the prostitute Daṁḍā, the actress of the cave-theatre (*leṇaśobhikā*).

In the *Dharmasarmābhyudaya* 10, 9 Haricandra mentions the land at the top of the Vindhya, that is equipped with the bowers and the stages (*gām nikuñjaraṅgām*). In the *Daśakumāracarita* 148, ed. Godabole and Parab (Bombay 1883)=46.7 ed. Peterson, Daṇḍin mentions the sun-god as an actor, who exhibits his graceful dances upon the top of the gold-mountain serving as a stage. There at 108, 14 ed. Godabole and Parab=10,23 ed. Peterson Daṇḍin mentions a big subterranian vault, in which there occurs an artificial hill, in the interior of which many bowers and play-houses are dug up (*mahati bhūmigṛhe kṛtrimaśailagarbhotkīrṇanānāmaṇḍapaprekṣāgṛhe*; cf. *nikuñjaramya* at Haricandra *loco citato*). That agrees, as I have already shown at the page 541 of DIZ 1905, with the statement of the *Bhāratīya Nāṭyaśāstra* 2,69 ed. Bombay=2.84 ed. Grosset that the long play-house[4] should possess the shape of a cave of the hill and must be two-storied. *Kāryaḥ śailaguhākāro dvibhūmir nāṭyamaṇḍapaḥ*. From this statement of the oldest dramaturgical text, preserved by us, we may conclude that performances at the initial stage of the dramatic art used to happen within the caves of the hills. It could not otherwise be explained why people chose the shape of a cave for the biggest play-house. Acoustics alone, upon which the manual lays great weight, cannot be the reason that there should be also quadrangular and triangular play-houses. From the form of the cave there follows quite spontaneously the arrangement of the terrace-formed play-house, which is testified to by the cave of the Rāmgarh hill. It is prescribed also by the manual but it demands two stories. The arrangement does not possess any thing exclusively Greek. That man chose the hills for performances follows quite simply from the fact that they gave the best protection against the heat. The poets of the artistic poetry very frequently mention that the pair of lovers used to select the place of secret union at the declivities of the hills and walked upon the plateaus (*Śiśupālavadha* 4, 27, 40, 42, 51; *Kirātārjunīya* 5, 5, 19, 23, 28). In such opportunities one visited also the performances in the caves, which by their nature contained only few spectators. The plays, which were exhibited there, were certainly very small, the scenic apparatus was one, which was conceivably the most simple. What Wilson and Bollensen have conjectured about the poverty of the same has found absolute support from the *Bhāratīya Nāṭyaśāstra*, as I have already shown in 1891 (GGA 1891, p. 261 ff; comp. *Bhāratīya* N-9. 1 ff). It is the apparatus, which has been employed in the plays of the Killing of Kaṁsa and the Binding of Bali, reproduced by the Śaubhikas, mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya*, so also (utilised) in the cave-theatres. Yes, it is very probable that in consideration of the room-and light-arrangements and the public the popular plays only were exhibited there - the puppet-plays and the shadow-plays. Shankar Pāṇḍurang Pandit has suggested that the exhibitions of puppets and paper-figures were the only dramatic performances, which were known to the people[5] and I have attempted to show that the classical Indian drama is based upon the popular play and bears unmistakeable trace of its origin from it.[6] In the chain of evidences one member was still missing—the shadow-play, which is most closely connected with the puppet-play. For long we know a drama, which is called the chāyā-nāṭaka—the shadow-play. But this chāyā-nāṭaka seemed to differ from the remaining varieties of the Indian dramas only a little in form but not in the mode of performance. Still now it remained a problem. Till now the evidence is not found that the shadow-play occurred in the same form in ancient India, in which it has remained in the remaining part of the orient. I believe, I am able to demonstrate today that the shadow-play was known in India in a very ancient time and that the chāyā-nāṭaka is a literary development of the old popular shadow-play.[7]

The apparatus is tolerably the same in all the places, where the shadow-play is prevalent. It consists of a folding screen, in which there occurs a slit covered with the linen cloth or a screen decked with white linen. A lamp is lighted behind it, at the back of which the shadow-player sits alone or along with his assistants and shakes the figures, which are made of leather or paper and are mostly painted. He utters these words, which are placed upon the mouth of the figures and also sings songs. In India evidences are still wanting about the occurrence of the shadow-play.

In the *Mahābhārata* 12, 294, 5, 6 we read :

raṅgāvataraṇaṁ caiva tathā rūpopajīvanam /
madyamāṁsopajīvyam ca vikrayaṁ lohacarmaṇoḥ //
apūrviṇā na kartavyaṁ karma loke vigarhitam /
kṛtapūrvaṁ tu tyajato mahān dharma iti śrutiḥ //

The appearance upon the stage, further *rūpopajīvana*, the acquirement of the livelihood by (the sale of) intoxicant drinks and flesh and also the trade of metal and leather are prohibited to man ; one should not practise it if he has not done it earlier (i.e. if this be not a profession, which he obtains by his birth). One who has practised it earlier but gives up later acquires a great religious merit, that is instructed by the scripture.

Further in Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* 5, 74

caitre tu citrakaralekhakageyasaktān.
rūpopajīvinigamajñahiraṇya-paṇyān/
pauṇḍrauḍrakaikayajanān atha cā śmakāṁśca
tāpaḥ spṛśatya amarapótra vicitravarṣi//74//

Kern translates in JRAS, New Series, Vol. IV (1870) p. 467 the same in the following :

>> By an eclipse in Caitra grief is caused to the painters, writers, singers, to those whose beauty is venal, to Vaidic scholars, gold-merchants, the Puṇḍras, Orisees, Kekayas and Aśmakas ; in the same year the rain god will distribute rain equally. <<

Böhtlingk (see before *rūpopajīvana*) explains that word as : " the gaining of the livelihood by his beautiful form of the body, appearance in a naked or slightly covered body for bread-earning " and *rūpopajīvin* as " gaining his subsistence by his beautiful form of the body. " To his translation of *rūpopajīvin* as " those whose beauty is venal " Kern adds the observation " the expression in the text reminds one of the Latin "corpore quaestum faciens." Here Kern follows the commentator, who explains the word *rūpopajīvin* by '*veśyajanaḥ*' 'the prostitute'.

The explanations given by Böhtlingk and Kern have remained uncontradicted till now. They remain extraordinarily very close, since *rūpājīva* "living at the expense of the (beautiful) body" is a very common word for the prostitute, which appears as *rūpūpajīvinī* in Pāli (Childers s. before; *Milindapañha* 122, 3), and exactly corresponds to Sanskrit *rūpopajīvin*. Beside *ājiva* and *jivin* also *upajivin* is very frequently used at the end of compounds indicating "earning his livelihood through something, living from". So we find in the list of the traders of Dvārakā in the *Jaiminīya Aśvamedhaparvan* 10, 41 ff the *Kāṁsyopajīvinaḥ*, the *bhūpa-kṣuropakarmopajīvinaḥ*, beside the *trapujīvinaḥ*, *varatāmbulajīvikāḥ*, *carmajīvinaḥ*, *jalaukājīvinaḥ*. In the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* 2.6.21 *raṅgopajīvī* has been explained by the commentators as *naṭamallādivṛttiḥ*, In the *Mṛcchakaṭika* 37.2 Madanikā asks the massager (*Saṁvāhaka*): *Kiṁ vā vittiṁ ajjo uvajīvadi?* and he replies at 37.4 : *hagge saṁvāhakassa vittiṁ uvajiyāmi*. At 38.66 he says that he maintains himself by dice-playing. *Yūdovajīvismi śaṁvutte*, In the *Saurapurāṇa* 11, 18 Śiva says that one of the eight forms of *Bhakti* in him is *yaśca māṁ nopajīvati*, the classical counterpart to the Vedic example pajrās, who lived on Bṛhaspati (*upajīvanti RV*. I. 190.5) while they tormented him like a poor ox[8]. cf. also Kṣemendra, *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa*.

That *rūpopajīvana* and *rūpopajīvin* could have the meaning attributed by Böhtlingk and Kern cannot be doubted. But the context in both the places does not speak in favour of it. In the *Mahābhārata* the word *rūpopajīvana* occurs immediately below *raṅgāvatarana* "the appearance upon the stage"; in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* there occurs *rūpopajīvin* immediately below *geyasakta* "singer." It is therefore possible from the very beginning that *rūpopajīvana* indicated some kind of profession, which was very close to that of the actors and singers. It is shown by Nīlakaṇṭha, whose explanation has been wrongly understood by Böhtlingk. He says : "*rūpopajīvanaṁ jala-maṇḍapiketi dākṣiṇātyeṣu prasiddhaṁ yatra sūkṣmavastraṁ vyavadhāya carmamayair ākārai rājāmātyādīnāṁ caryā pradarśyate.*" *Rupopajīvana* is known as *Jalamaṇḍapikā* to the southerners. After spreading a thin cloth the activities of the kings, ministers etc. are exhibited before the eyes with the help of the figures of leather. Arjunamiśra very commonly explains the word as '*śilpādi*' etc. But unfortunately the word *jalamaṇḍapikā* cannot be traced in any Aryan or Dravidian speech[9] of south India. But Marathi *Jalapa* that means "the images arising in sleep out of the occupations or thoughts of the past day" is connected with it. It is absolutely clear by all means that Nilakaṇṭha understands by *rūpopajīvana* the art of the shadow-player. We come to know from him that between the public and the shadow-player a thin cloth is spread and the figures are made of leather. It agrees entirely with what we understand by the shadow-play. Nilkaṇṭha's explanation is undoubtedly correct.[10] Shadow-play occurred in India at a time when the twelfth book of the *Mahābhārata* was composed and this continued upto the time of Varāhamihira i.e. in the sixth century A.D. A passage in the very old Buddhistic *Therīgāthā* 394 leads us to a much higher date than that of (i.e. indicated by) its mention in the *Mahābhārata*. There in 366 ff it is stated that the nun Subhā while wandering in the mango-grove of Jīvaka was harassed by a worthless fellow (scamp). She refused his proposals of love. With a view to making clear to him the folly of his derire she used the following among other images and similies (394) :

māyaṁ viya aggato kataṁ
supinante va suvannapādaṁ /
upadhāvasi andha rittakaṁ
janamajjhe-r iva rupparūpakaṁ //

The commentator of the *Dhammapada* explains at p. 258 f ed. E. Müller the last words as : *janamajjheriva rupparūpakan ti māyākareṇa māhajanamajjhe dassitaṁ rūpiya rūpasadisaṁ asāraṁ saraṁ upaṭṭhahantan*[11] *asāran ti attho.* K. E. Neumann translates[12] : " As if you take illusion to be a true work, consider the good-tree of the dream as genuine, as a blind man you are befooled and see the dolls only among the men " and remarks that *rittakam* belongs naturally to *rupparupaka* and it is called a kind of blind cow-play. That is absolutely erroneous. There is no mention of the dolls.[13] I translate: " you throw yourself, oh blind man ! upon something, which is non-existent, as if upon an illusion, that is exhibited before you, upon a golden tree within the dream, upon a shadow-play in the crowd of men ". Three things are mentioned here that have apparent reality—an illusion, which a magician performs, a golden tree, which a man sees in the dream and considers for genuine[14] and a shadow-play, of which the personnel do not exist in reality.

Pāli *rūppa-rūpaka* is Skt. *rūpya-rūpaka*. In the language of the rhetoricians *rūpya* is that, which can be figuratively stated, the thing figured, *rūpaka* that which expresses metaphorically, the thing figuring. So in the example *timirāṁśuka* " mantle of darkness " *i.e.* a darkness which places itself round us like a veil, the word *timira* is the *rūpya* and *aṁśuka* " mantle " the *rūpaka* (*Sāhityadarpaṇa* 308 ff.). In *mukhendu* the " moon of face " *i.e.* a face which resembles the moon, *mukha* " face " is the *rūpya* and *indu* " moon ", the *rūpaka* (*Kāvyādarśa* 2.68 ; *Kuvalayānanda* ed. Bombay, Samvat 1952, p. 29 ff.). These rhetorical figures, where the features of a thing are attributed to another (*āropaya*) are called *rūpaka*s " Metaphors " " Torpus " and are treated exhaustively and are analysed. In dramaturgy *rūpaka* is the most common name for dramatic show, play. At *Daśarūpaka* 1, 7 Dhanañjaya says that it is so called "because of the imposition" (*samāropāt*) *i.e.* as the commentator Dhanika, Dhanañjaya's brother explains, because to the player the character of the person is attributed whom he represents, as for example that of Rāma (*naṭe Rāmādyavasthāropeṇa vartamānatvād rūpakaṁ*) and Dhanika cites as parallel *mukhacandra* moon of face, thus the rhetorical figure *rūpaka*. Thus in the case where an actor plays the role of Rāma, Rāma becomes the *rūpyā* and the actor the *rūpaka*. In the oldest passage, where the word *rūpaka* appears Av. 11, 11, 15 = 11, 9, 15 ed. Roth, the word indicates ghosts, who appear in the assumed figures. In numismatics *rūpya* is the imprinted coin, upon which the figures of Śiva and others are sketched[15]. *Rupyarūpaka* appears then as a play played by figures. The indications *rupopajīvana* and *rūpopajīvin* and the context in the *Therīgāthā* make it probable that it does not deal with the puppet-play but with the shadow-play.

In the Indian languages of the present time *bahurūpi* (Marāṭhī, Gujarāti) or *bahurūpiya* (Hindī, Hindusthānī) is "an individual of a class of people, that are dancers, actors, maskers, mimes, merry Andrews (Molesworth)." Grierson, to whom I owe the information, says to me that the entire art of the people often consists only in this that they appear in disguise, utter *salām* and disappear to reappear again after a brief or long period in a new guise. Therefore their name is *bahurūrpi* i.e. one, who possesses many forms. Their art is called *bahūrūp*.

If the word *rūpa* forms such a very important constituent in the terms of the shadow-play so it is quite easy to presume the name shadow-play from the expression *lupadakhe* = *lupadakkhe* = *rūpadaksaḥ*. The word *lūpadakhe* occurs in an inscription in the Jogimārā-cave, the second of the caves of the Rāmgarh hill mentioned by Bloch. The roof of this cave is covered with the remnants of painting, which are 2000 years old according to Bloch. The characters of the inscription indicate its age. It reads :[16]

Śutanuka nama / devadaśikyi /
taṁ kamayitha balunaśeye /
Devadine name / lupadakhe /

The syllable *kyi* of the first line stands along with the division-mark more deeply and laterally to the right, that was evidently demanded by the space at the disposal. There occurs once more upon the first line in a small character the words *Śutanuka nama devadaśikyi*. The language of the inscription is Lāṭ dialect and the inscription deals with a temple-maid Sutanukā by name and a Devadinna, who was called Lupadakṣa.

Bloch states that Devadinna is the name of the painter of the cave and the *lupadakhe* thus conveys the sense of the painter. But this is impossible, At best the sense of the painter could have been indicated by the word *citadakhe* = *citradakṣah*. In the excellent story of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* 37.1 ff = *Bṛhatkathīmañjarī* 14, 150 ff Somadeva calls a painter *citrakṛt* 37. 8, the stone-cutter or sculptor 37, 8 *rūpakṛt* and 37, 9 *rūpakāra*, but in Kṣemendra 14. 156 the painter is *citrakāra* and the sculptor is *rūpakāra*. If Devadinna would have been a stone-cutter or sculptor he would have certainly been mentioned as *lupakale* = *rūpakāraḥ* in the inscription as the stone-cutters are introduced as such in the the inscriptions e.g. E. II, 42 *praśastiḥ utkīrṇṇā rūpakāreṇa Sāmpuleneyaṁ ādarāt* (cf, 49. 3) VIII, 117. *rūpakāraprakāṃḍasaya Sīhakasyāṃgajanmanā praśastir iyam utkīrṇṇā Rāmadevena śilpinā*, *Prācīna lekhamālā* II, 101 : *utkīrṇā ceyaṃ rūpakāra*. As *Tadbhāva* there occurs the word *rūvarī* = *rūpakārin* in Kanareese EI. II. 198; cf. 207 obs. 8;[17] thus *lupadakhe* could at best indicate the stone-cutter or sculptor. But it indicates neither this (painter) nor the shadow-player.

Among the meanings which the Indian Lexicographers[18] attribute to the word *rūpa* there occurs the one of *granthāvṛtti*, an expression which is extremely unclear. Wilson explains it " acquiring familiarity with any book or authority by frequent perusal, learning by heart or rote. " Apte follows him : " acquiring familiarity with any book by learning it by heart or by frequent recitation. " Böhtlingk means, rather indicates, " citation ". Mahendra at Hemacandra's *Anekārthasaṁgraha* 2, 294 (P. 46, ed. Zachariae) gives as example for the meaning : " *ayugmaiḥ saṁpaṭhed rūpaih*, " evidently after Maṅkha at p. 533 : " *ayugmaiḥ saṁpaṭhed rūpair yugmaiḥ rakṣasagāmi tu* (so ?). " This is to be corrected in the second part *yugmair akṣaragāmi tu*, and the meaning will be : one collects with dissimilar copies, with similar but alphabetes for alphabetes. Unlike copies are copies from a manuscript other than its own exemplar, similar from the same. *Granthāvṛtti* literally repetition of the book is thus = transcript, copy.

It is supported by the story of the *Mahāvagga* I, 49. It is reported that the parents of a certain Upāli thought how after their death they would make the life of their son quite comfortable. If he learns the art of writing (*lekha*) there will be pain in his finger, if the art of counting (*gaṇanā*) there will be pain in the breast and if the art of *rūpa* the eyes will suffer from the pain consequently they allowed him to be Buddhist monk, since the monks lived happily in joy. *Rūpa* indicates necessarily a calling or an occupation, which exhausts the eyes. The mode of writing must not have been meant since it has already been mentioned earlier, so less the art of reading since for it the definite expression *paṭhana* occurs. D' Alwin[19] has translated *rūpa* by the term " drawing ", " sketch " which Childers S.V. cites without further remark. That is certainly thinkable. Compared with the meaning presented by the lexicographers one should translate the word *rūpa* as " copying ", " transcription ", " the profession of the copyist." As it will be manifest the profession of the corrector is at the same time connected with this calling. It is evident that this profession exhausts the eyes more severely than drawing.

Now *rūpadakṣa* becomes clear from a statement that occurs in the *Milindapañha* 344, 10. *evarūpā kho mahārāja bhikkhū Bhagavato Dhammangare rūpadakkhāti vuccanti.* In the very interesting passage of the *Milindapañha* 341, 46 ff, where there occurs a description of the inhabitants of the holy town of the supreme lord at 343 ff. one finds the mention of different classes of monks : lord of faith (*dhammasenāpatino*), house-priests (*purohitā*), judges (*akkhadassā*), light-makers (*jotakā*), the protectors of faith or of the order (*dhammarakkhā*), the *rūpadakkhās*, the flower-traders (*pupphā paṇikā*) the fruit-traders (*phalāpaṇikā*) dealers of sweet scents (*gandhāpaṇikā*), the drinkers of burnt wine (*soṇḍāpipāsā*)[20], watchers of the state (*nagara-guttikā*), dealers of law (*dhammāpaṇikā*), gild-masters of the law (*dhammaseṭṭhino*), famous connoisseurs of law (*vissutadhammikā*). The *rūpadakkās* stand between the *dhammarakkhās* and the *pupphāpaṇikhās*. Rhys Davids does not translate *rūpadakkhā* and observes here[21] : "Literally skilled in form, shape beauty". The Siṁhalese repeats this ambiguous expression adding the qualification *amātyayo* 'ministers officials'. One would think that these would have been the judges, but our author has already made the Arhats the judges in his *Dhammanagara*. This only leaves him some minor official post to give away to those learned in Canon Law, and he has chosen one as unintelligible in Ceylone as it is to me." If one investigates what is indicated by *rupadakkhā* one finds easily that it does not signify officials of the type of judges. The passage reads : *ye pana te mahārāja bhikkhū vinayaññu vinayakovidā nidānapaṭhanakusalī āpatti-anāpattigaruka-s-atekiccha-atekiccha-vuṭṭhāna-desanā-niggaha-paṭikamma-osāraṇa-nissāraṇa-patisāraṇa-kusalā vinaye paramiṁ gatā evarūpā kho mahārāja bhikkhu Bhagavato dhammanagare rūpadakkhā ti vuccanti.*" "Oh great king ! Such monks, who are acquainted with discipline, expert in discipline, skilful in the statement of the ultimate cause (of a fault against the discipline), expert (in the decision about) whether a fault occurs or not, if (the fault) is heavy or light, whether it can be atoned or not, how it can be again amended, laid open, set aside, cured, removed, unmade or softened, those who are masters, in the discipline, such monks, oh great king, are called *rupadakkhā* in the holy city of the supreme lord."

The decisive words of the original text are *nidāna-paṭhanakusalā.* They indicate those monks, who are skilful in discipline, as 'expert in the statement of the ultimate cause'. Disregarding the context one can transtate the passage only as : "expert in the study of the original". It shows that they are used with the purpose of exhibiting the double meaning. In the following one is to put "mistake" in the place of the "fault" and in the place of "atoned" probably "removed", that is just as good permitted by the text, and it nicely suits the "copyists". They were, at the same time, the revisors of the original and we understand now that our manuscripts so often exhibit corrections, that the same lead finally to the occurrence of entirely defferent recensions of the same very text. For the history of the text tradition this passage of the *Milindapañha* is of great importance. This at Bühler's *Indian Paleography* pp. 36 ff should be added at the same time to *lupadakkhe* of our inscription. *Lupadakkhe* = pāli *rupadakho* = Skt. *rūpadakṣaḥ* signifies thus the "copyist" "corrector".

Bloch has expressed the view that the second line of the inscription either refers to the fact that Sutanukā founded the cave or to that she explains the scene painted upon the inscription.

I belive that the inscription has a simpler content, *kāmayitha* is evidently = *kāmayittha* and this is the form of the aorist from *kāmaya.*[22] *Balunaśeye* is evidently an adjective built with the suffix *-eya* or *-eyya*. Such adjectives are formed from the names of places as *Vārāṇaseya*, *Kauśāmbeya*, *Śrāvasteya*[23] etc. or from the names of rivers as from *nadī* itself *nādeya*, further *Gāṅgeya*, *āpageya*. *Baluneśeya* may be placed along with them. Constable's Hand Atlas of India indicates five rivers with the names Banas. There is one, which flows in Rewa within Baghelkhand and is recorded in the map 28 b, d. Hunter in "*The Imperial Gazetteer of India* II, 45 provides the following information about it : Banā—River of Chutiā Nagpur, Bengal rises in the range of hills which separates Chāng Bhakar from Koreā state : flows in a westerly direction through Chāng Bhakar until it takes a bend to the north, following the boundary line of the state, which it leaves at its north-west corner and passes into Rewa. It is a hill-stream with rocky bed and frequent rapids; there is no traffic." That is the native stream of Devadinna, northwest to the Rāmgarh hill, in which the cave with the inscription occurs. The oldest mentionable form of the name *Banās* is *Bārṇāsā* in the 10th inscription of the Nasik cave, the younger *Baṇāsā* i.e. *Baṇṇāsā* in the 13th inscription of the Karle cave and in the 14th inscription of the Nasik-cave.[24] From *Bārṇāsā* in the Lat-dialect *Bāhunāśā* or *Bahunāsā* develops quite legitimately with the insertion of the vowel *u*,[25] that comes by way of anaptyxis. From *Bāhunāsā* the adjective *Bāhunāseya* is formed exactly in the same manner. That the native river and not the native town or the native village is indicated is some thing very ancient. The authors of the Dānastuti do that in the Rigveda, when they call the benefactor and at the ceremony of the Sīmantonnayana, which the sacrificer performs at the first pregnancy of his wife he causes the lute-players sing a verse according to the Gṛhyasūtra, in which the river on the bank of which the pair live is extolled.[26] It is not impossible that a village possessed that name like the river, on the bank of which it stood. Hunter mentions there at the same very place a place *Banâs* in Grawahl.

With the insertion of the long and doubly written consonants the inscription reads :

Śutanukā nāma / devadāśikyi
taṁ kāmayittha Bālunāśeye /
Devadinne nāma lupadakkhe /

The translation is :

The temple-maid was called Sutanukā. The copyist Devadinna coming from Barṇāsā loved her.

The beautiful Sutanukā seems to have inspired others as the words, repeated upto the first line in small letters, indicate it. In any case this inscription which appears to belong latest to the middle of the second century B.C. but is probably more archaic than this and stands as the oldest Indian evidence of the custom, transmitted even to the benches of our lecture-halls, is intended to perpetuate the name of the beloved through the cutting of the wood or the chiselling of the stone. Devadinna has perpetually, since he has transcribed her name by incising in all " the rinds ".

We do not possess any thing about the ancient popular shadow play. The dramaturgists leave us a number of names of the varieties of dramas, which are still unknown to us and give a short description of the same. The shadow-play does not occur among them. Quite early there appear in the literature pieces, which are called *chāyānāṭakas* " shadow-plays ", as such they bear a name, which is altogether different from that of the ancient shadow-play. Wilson has given for the first time a description of a *chāyā-nāṭaka*, which is the *Dūtāṅgada* of Subhaṭa.[27] Wilson indicates *chāyā-nāṭaka* as " the shadow or outline of a drama " and means " the composition was perhaps intended to introduce a spectacle of the battle and procession as it is otherwise difficult to conceive what object its extreme conciseness could have effected. " Aufrecht observes.[28] " Chāyānāṭakae vocabulo quid significetur, nonconstat ": Sylvain Lèvi, who for the first time places the whole species in its proper setting[29] says: " Their name is obscure: One might have attempted to explain by the expression ' shadow of the drama ' if the rules of the grammar do not oppose the analysis of the compound *chāyānāṭaka*. They admit least an explanation approximate and almost identical: " drama at the condition of the shadow ". I have hitherto connected this word with *chāyā* " an imperfect representation, an adumbration " in Marathi, indicated it as " shadow of a play " or half-drama and denied any connection with shadow-play.[30]

Besides the *Dūtāṅgada* Lèvi has given the analysis of *Haridyūta*[31] of an unknown author and of *Rāmābhyudaya* and *Subhadrāpariṇayana* of Vyāsa Śrī—Rāmadeva, who appears to be a specialist in *Chāyānāṭka*, since he has prepared a third book of this nature, the *Pāṇḍavābhyudaya*.[32] Rāmadeva composed his works under a king Haribrahmadeva, of whom we possess[33] inscriptions from the years 1402 and 1445 and his grandson Raṇamalladeva.[34] The works of Rāmadeva differ in nothing of the usual features of the later drama-manufacturers. It is very difficult to perceive why these works are called *Chāyānāṭakas* as the *Sāvitrīcarita* of Śaṁkaratāla, who composed his work in seven acts in 1883.[35] The *Haridyūta*, which Lèvi cosiders as one among the *Chāyānāṭakas*, does not admit itself as such any where, but considers itself as simply as a nāṭaka. Undonbtedly it bears the popular fearures and reminds one of the *Dūtāṅgada* in its plan. But it remains doubtful whether it should be considered as a *chāyānāṭaka*. We do not get any thing more in details about the *chāyānāṭaka* from what Rajendralal Mitra states while treating " on the history of the Adil Shahi dynasty. "[36]

Now only the *Dūtāṅgada* of Subhaṭa, which was published by Durgāprasād and Kashinath Parab in 1891 (= Kāvyamāla 28) remains stiil to-day for being investigated as to what extent it retains the features of the *Chāyā-nāṭaka*. Subhaṭa is a later author. The editors of the *Dūtāṅgaḍa* admit that he lived under Kumārapāla, the patron of the poly-historian Hemacandra, who glorified him in a poem in Prākrit, which is called *Kumārapālacarita*. We possess inscriptions from Kumārapāla from the year 1145 to 1169.[37] He was crowned in the year 1142.[38] Bendall has contrarily remarked that Subhaṭa composed his work rather under Tribhuvanapāla, the fifth successor of Kumārapāla of whom we possess an inscription of the year 1242[39] and the *Dūtāṅgada* was composed at a commemoration ceremony of Kumārapāla.[40] That is indeed doubted by Keith, but undoubtedly quite correctly.[41] The passage reads in the edition at the p 2.5 ff : *Mahārājādhirājaśrīmat-Tribhuvanapāladevasya pariṣadājñayā prabandhaviśeṣam upakramamānósmi bho bhoḥ sāmājikāḥ śṛṇuta sāvadhānāḥ yadasya vasantotsave devaśrīkumārapāladevasya yātrāyām padavākyaprāmāṇa-pāraṁgatena mahākavinā śrīsubhaṭena vinirmitam Dūtaṅgadam nāma chāyā-nāṭakam abhinetavyam* " " At the command of the association of the supreme lord of the great kings, the noble Tribhuvanapāladeva, I am about to begin the performance of a certain literary drama oh oh spectators, please hear carefully ! Today at the procession in honour of the divinely noble[42] Kumārapāladeva there would be performed the shadow-play *Dūtāṅgada* composed by the great poet Subhaṭa, who is the greatest authority in the use of words and sentences. " That the words *devaśrī Kumārapāladevasya yātrāyām* can be translated as: " at the procession in honour of divinely noble Kumārapāladeva ", that I have done here shows countless parallels from other works. The *Mahāvīracarita* 2, 2. ed Bombay 1902, the *Uttararāmacarita* 1, 6 ed. Cal. 1870 state *bhagavataḥ Kālapriyanāthasya yātrāyām*; the *Mālatīmādhava* 8, 2 edition. Bhāṇḍārkar contains *bhagavataḥ kālaprīyanṅthasya yātrāprasaṅgeṇa* ', the *prasannarāghava* 2, 2 possesses *bhagavataḥ śaṁkarasya yātrāyām*; the *Anargharāghava* 6, 4 retains *bhagavataḥ puruṣhottamasya yātrāyām;* the *Caitanyacandrodaya* I, 14 shows *bhagavataḥ śrīpuruṣottamasya* *guṇḍicāyātrāyām;* the *karṇasundarī* exhibits *bhagavataḥ nābheyasya yātrāmahotsave;* the *Rasasadanobhān śrībhadrakālikāyāḥ* 3, 16 has got *keliyātrāyām.* The *Hitopadeśa* 85, 12. ed. Schlegel Lassen = 95. 11. ed. Peterson indicates *bhagavataḥ garuḍasya yātrāprasaṅgeṇa etc.* It is of great interest that *Tribhuvanapāladeva* shows divine honour to his ancestor Kumārapāla. Subhṭa's time can be definitely settled. Since Tribhuvanapāla ruled for a brief period, the *Dūtāṅgada* must have been composed at 1242. A.D. This finds agreement with the mention of Subhaṭa by his contemporary Someśvara in the *Kīrtikaumudī* 1, 24, which has already been referred to by Durgāprasād and Parab. Someśvara is the author of the inscriptional prāsastis, of which the earliest one belongs to 1230 A.D. and the latest to 1253 A.D.[43] That the contemporaries praise one another is known from the example of Rājaśekhara, who mentions the praises of Aparājita, Kṛṣṇasāṅkaravarman of Daivajña.[44]

Since Subhaṭa is a later author, one should expect that the *Dutāṅgada* should be better preserved. But it is certainly not the case. Contrarily there are so many *Dūtāṅgadas* as there are the manuscripts of the same. In the first place two texts sharply differ from one another—one shorter and another longer, but the same do not form exclusive families of manuscript-materials. The edition of the Kāvyamālā represents the shorter text. It contains 56 stanzas and little prose. To the same text belongs the manuscript A = British Museum, Bendall Nr. 269, B = India Office Library, Eggling Nr. 4188, C and D = Bodleian Library, Aufrecht Nr. 276 and 277. A has 72 stanzas acc. to its own calculation, B 48, C 58 and in D I count only 33. To the longer version belongs E = India Office Library, Eggling Nr. 4189, that contains 138 stanzas according to its own calculation. The countings of the verses of the manuscripts are inexact. Except folio 9 the manuscript E is absolutely in disorder, while it was absolutely marked before. The entire arrangement of the play is much different in the manuscripts, not only in the text-deviations in the particular. As for example in B there are deviations from the edition in p 1, 12-2, 11; 2, 14-19; 3, 5-10; 21; 4, 3-8. After 4, 10 A inserts the following two stanzas of purely descriptive matter :

> *itīrayitvā vibudhān apaśyat tais tuṣṭuve kaṇṭakitair vapurbhiḥ |*
> *tato' calad vālisutaḥ svayūthāt saṁsthāpya tatraiva mahāsahāyam ||*
> *navāṁśuvaktrāṁśuviśālamaulir jvalannubhābhyāṁ maṇikuṇḍālābhyām|*
> *viveśa vidyādharavarttmanāreḥ purīṁ niruddhābhinavorumārgām ||*

Rāvaṇo Mandodarīm prati.

Immediately after this follows this stanza 14 = p. 5, 8, 9 of the edition (here is wanting p. 4, 11 -5, 7) after which four sranzas appear, which are totally wanting in the edition but partly appear in other manuscripts though in a different place. The stanza 18 = p. 6, 2 ff of the edition remains attached to the last of the four stanzas. There is wanting p. 5, 10 — 16, 1 inclusively. So it goes. But it is repeated in other manuscripts. D retains the shortest text.[45]. Subhaṭa himself mentions in the stanza 56 that he is not the author of all the stanzas, and that he collected some from the earlier kings of poets of great eminence. He seems to admit thereby that the poetry itself was not his chief consideration but that he utilised it as the base for the introduction of persons. At the same time possibilities were laid open to all the Rūpakas for insertions in a wide scale. So far as I can ascertain the sources of the shorter text, it contains poems from Murāri, Rājaśekhara, allegedly from Bhavabhūti and above all from the *Hanumānnāṭaka*, which indeed possesses poems from earlier poets in its different recensions.[46] If one compares the *Dūtāṅgada*, as it occurs in the manuscripts, with the *Hanumān* or *Mahānāṭaka* one will be forthwith convinced that both belong to the same kind of drama. The *Hanumānnāṭaka* deals with the entire content of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, but the *Dutāṅgada* with only a short episode. Rāma sends the ape Aṅgada to Rāvaṇa asking him to return Sītā. Rāvaṇa refuses to return her and steps into the war. At the conclusion two Gandharvas are found to move through the air and discuss among themselves about the death of Rāvaṇa. Behind the scene stanzas are recited, which express the delight of the people at the death of Rāvaṇa and proclaim Rāma's arrival. He (Rāma) appears in his chariot with Sītā and describes to her the battlefield by a stanza, which is taken from Rājaśekhara's *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, which occurs in the *Mahānāṭaka* and which is often cited by the rhetoricians. After this the Bharatavākya appears and the just-mentioned stanza 56. Only in very few places a short dialogue occurs, which is not found uniformly in all the manuscripts. Mostly verses alone are to be found and also the progress of the action is described by verses, like the cited verses 10 and 11 of the manuscript A. Exactly behaves the *Mahānāṭaka*. As here Prakrits of every kind are missing, so also in many manuscripts of the *Dutāṅgada*. In 1846 Max Müller has expressed the view[47] that in the *Mahānāṭaka* we find more an epic than a dramatic poetry. In the essential components of the work one is sure to find the remnant of an older epic poetry or the first attempts of the dramatic art. I have already shown in 1885 that this view is absolutely wrong.[48] Also Lèvi considers the *Mahānāṭaka* among the plays, which reflect the condition of the theatre that was prevalent long before Kālidāsa and comes to the same result, which is reached by Max Müller. Undoubtedly the *Mahānāṭaka* in its fundamental features is a very old work or a copy of such one. The known legend also points to it, according to which Hanumant inscribed it upon a rock, but later in reverence for Vālmīki threw the rock into the sea. At the time of Bhoja Dāmodara Miśra or Madhusūdana Miśra got it combined together by the poets and completed.[50] That all the dramas were composed upon the stone-slabs is indeed indicated.[51] The legend shows in any case that according to the tradition there occurred an earlier *Mahānāṭaka*[52] that stands in the same relation with the present day one as the shorter recension of the *Dutāṅgada* stands with the longer. I consider it highly probable that the *Mahānāṭaka and the Dutāṅgada* are somehow related with the ancient shadow-play after I have studied the manuscripts of the *Dutāṅgada*. Lèvi says excellently[53] about the *Mahānāṭaka* " Un grand nombre de personages traverse l'action, paraissaient, parlent et s' evanovissent en quelque sorte dans le recit. " In the *Dutāṅgada* the number of the appearing persons is naturally less, since it corresponds to a single act of the *Mahānāṭaka*. It is surely very big in consideration of the extent of the play There appear in the published text Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Aṅgada, Sugrīva, Rāvaṇa, Mandodarī, Vibhīṣaṇa, Mālyavanta, Prahasta, a false Sītā, a Rākṣasī, many Rākṣasas, the Gandharvas, Hemāṅgada and Citrāṅgada, a bard behind the stage and a dumb person Sītā. Besides much is placed before the eyes specially towards the conclusion, so that Wilson[54] and Lèvi[55] have opined that the main effect of this and all similar plays remains in the equipment. If one thinks that all is originally performed with shadow-figures the entire nature of the plays becomes intelligible. That in the *Mahānāṭaka* and *Dutāṅgada* Aṅgada and Rāvaṇa, in *Haridyūta* Kṛṣṇa and Duryodhana are painted as baggards reminds one of the puppet-play. A Vidūṣaka is missing. In the popular shadow-plays the dialogue is partly set and much scope is allowed to improvisation, which is in fact the characteristics of the ancient Indian drama.[56] This peculiarity is ascribed to the Chāyānāṭāka.

It is not sure if one can conclude about metaphorical productions from an expression used in the Manuscript C, that stands as : *Dūtāṅgadaṁ nāma chāyānāṭakam abhinayasangībhir unmīlayṣyāmi.* " I shall present before the eyes (of the spectators) the shadow-play *Dūtāṅgada* in a series of performances. " The use of *unmīlaya* is indeed absolutely unusual in the present context. It reminds one of *unmīlita* ' engraved, ' which is used in the copper-plates and exchanging with[57] *Utkīrṇa* ' marked ', ' cut into ' and ' incised ' I can make a figurative representation of the same.

Might the Chāyānāṭaka be reproduced at the time of Subhaṭa by the shadow-play figures or by the actors themselves it seems to be definite that there occurred (in the country) a literary tradition of the ancient popular shadow-play. It is demonstrated above all by the evidences of the Siameese shadow play Phra : raxāniphōn Ramakien, which F.W.K. Müller has edited.[58] Like the *Mahānāṭaka* and the *Dutāṅgada* this shadow-play too deals with an episode of the Rāmāyaṇa in the same very epic manner.[59] The rimed verses are interrupted in the short intervals by directions to the musicians or the stage-manager. Indrajit, Hanumat, Sugrīva speak in the same bragging tone as the heroes of the Sanskrit dramas and the entire speech is so much flowery and grand-eloquent as in these.

The character of the shadow-play becomes perceptible so less that one becomes tempted, as Müller has remarked at the page 4, to assume these books as text books of a drama, if in one of the two manuscripts there would not have been written expressly in the margin the word năng (Leather figures). This kind of shadow-plays has got nothing in common with the Karago-plays. Rather the popular plays like those, which are performed at Almora[60] and partly also the Bhānas remind one of these plays (Karago-plays). The Indian and the Siameese plays are even literary imitations. Jacob had the right feeling (i.e. correct estimate) when he in course of the chāyānāṭaka believed to have realised distinctly the characteristic features of the real shadow-play.[61] In fact the chāyānāṭaka indicates that, which one obtains from a literal translation of it i.e. " shadow-play ". When this name appeared and why it has removed the old name Rūpya-rūpaka cannot be stated forthwith.

By the evidence of the shadow-play in the ancient time the last gap in the evolution of the Indīan drama can be filled up. I shall not reproduce here all that once again, which I myself and Lèvi had produced against the Greek influence upon the Indian theatre. V. Smith even the most zealous advocate of the Greek influence must admit that Alexander's expedition " left upon India no mark save the horrid scars of bloody war. . . . .She continued to live her life of splendid isolation and soon forgot the passing of the storm.[62] " Contrarily if one reads the fragments of writings of Robus Alexandri Magni one finds what a great influence India has left upon the Greeks, although they did not know the proper India. And in the *Milindapañha* which places us in the age of the Greco-Indian kingdom it is not the Indian that submits to the Greek influence, but the Greek king Menander, who embraces Buddhism.[63] In the Antigonie 905-913 an undoubtedly oriental motive has been utilised, which might be of Indian and Persian origin.[64] The farce published by Grenfell and Hunt from Oxyrhynchus Papyri in 1903 is laid into the Indian coast and the Indians appearing there are represented as speaking their own language. That is absolutely non-Greek, but is a characteristic feature of the oriental comedies.[65] In case of contact between the Greek and oriental features we are so much accustomed to concede preference to the Greek that the question has not been seriously considered as to what extent the Greek are indebted to the orient. One forgets completely that the Indians had long reached the pinnacle of an indigenous high culture with which the Greek became acquainted and that one has got not to operate only with the Athenians but the people of the colonies too have got a word to say. The question, whether the Greek mime has left an influence[66] upon the orient is to be flatly denied by the Indians. If an opposite influence has happened the Greeks are the borrowers. For the present we need not yet lower the Indian claims significantly in favour of the Greeks[67] and test the old Indian evidences whether they bear the stamp " Made in Greece. "

References

(1) At the first place one may compare, "Risley in Hunter", *A Statical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XVIII (London 1877) p. 238, f.

(2) Dalton assumes the niches to be the private chambers for women, Risley for the hiding places of the women and treasures of the ruling families during the attacks of the Maraṭhas.

(3) Hunter, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XII^{2} 266: Surguja may be described in general terms as a secluded basin, walled in on the north-east and south by massive hill-barriers, and protected from approach on the west by the forest-clad tract of Koreā.

(4) Three kinds of theatre-buildings are differentiated: the long or wide one (*vikṛṣṭa*), the four cornered one (*caturasra*) and the three-cornered one (*tryasra*) (*Bhāratīya* N. 2.98, ed. Grosset), that the Śītābenga cave belonged to the long one proceeds from its measure : 44 feet long, 10 feet wide, probably 6 feet high.

(5) *Vikramorvaśīya*, Notes p 4.

(6) *Die Heimat des Puppenspiels*, Halle a. S. 1900 ; tr. into English by Tawney Mildred, C. (Mrs. Vyvyan R. N.). *The Home of the Puppet-play*, London 1901.

(7) I am very glad to refer here to two works of George Jacob, who has acquired the greatest proficiency in the history of the shadow-theatre : *Das Schattentheatre in seiner wanderung vom Morgenland zum Abendland* (Berlin 1901) and *Erwähnungen des Schattentheaters in der Weltliteratur* Berlin 1906). There the remaining literature has been mentioned.

(8) Pischel, GGA 1894, p. 430.

(9) Nīlakaṇṭha mentions the language of the Dākṣiṇātya for example also at the *Mahābhārata* 7.57.4 : *pūrṇakaiḥ svarṇacūḍaiḥ ḍāmkulata iti Dākṣiṇātya-prasiddhaiḥ*. In other passages he cites from the language of the Mahārāṣṭra (e.g. at 3.69.5 ; 5.143, 25 ; 6.46. 14 ; *Harivaṁśa* 1.20, 125) of Vidarbha (at 7.61,8) of Karṇāṭa (at 3.188, 42), of the Vindhya forest (6.46,11), of Drāviḍa (at 14, 9, 29). What he actually means by Dākṣiṇātya is not absolutely clear. He himself wrote at Benares cf. Holtzmann, *Das Mahābhārata und seine Theile* III, 88 f (incomplete).

(10) Just after this investigation was concluded I found that Pratap Chandra Roy had approached very close to truth in his translation of the *Mahābhārata*, which I do not possess myself. He translates certainly in agreement with Nīlakaṇṭha the word *rūpopajīvana* with "disguising oneself in various forms, exhibition of puppets" and gives two translations of the same word. Compare what has been spoken below about the *bahurūpi*. Here puppet-play has not been dealt with.

(11) Thus the text is to be read perhaps : *upaṭṭhaṁ = haṁ* is thus nom. sg. part. pres. parasmai, and *taṁ* is to be conceived as = *tvam*, the first *sāraṁ* is to be changed into *asāraṁ*.

(12) *Die Lieder der Mönche and Nonnen Gautama Buddhas* (Berlin 1899), p. 358.

(13) Contrarily at 374 *tapanīyakatā va didhītikā* is to be translated as " like a golden puppet " and the passage is to be referred to in *Die Heimat des puppenspiels* p. 7. cf. also *Jātaka* 3, 394, 25 Kañcanapura.

(14) Hopkins AJPh XX. 24. Compare also *Mbh*. 12. 321. 44.

(15) This is testified to by *nāṇas*, Pṛthvīdhara at the *Mṛcchakaṭika* 10, 23. ed. Stenzler = 29. 251. ed. Godbole. From *rūpya* there originates evidently rupee.

(16) *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* I, plate XV. see p. 494.

(17) Cf. also Bühler *Indische Paleographie* 39.

(18) B R.S.V p. 423 m. Also Maṅkha 533. *Śaśvata* 82. *Yādavaprakāśa* 226, 55.

(19) *An Introduction to Kacchyāyana's Grammar of the Pāli Language* (Colombo 1863), p. 101.

(20) Trenchner writes *soṅḍāpipāsa* as two words and Rhys Davids translates accordingly " thirsty and drunkards ". Evidently *soṇḍāpipāsa* is to be written.

(21) *SBE* 36, 236 note 6.

(22) E. Kühn, *Beiträge zu Pāli Grammatik* § 113 *Pischel, Grammatik der Prākrīt sprachen* § 517 ; *Senart, Les Inscriptions de piyadasi.* II, 401, *Mahāvastu* I, 378.

(23) Cf. Benfey *Vollständige Grammatik der Sanskrit sprache* § 494 and *Kāśikā* at 4.2.97. In Pāli and the Sanchi Inscriptions—*eyyaka-eyaka* occur in use : JPTS 1888, p. 32, 40, 55, 95, 97 ; EI II. 407 f. compare also Pāli *lumbineyya*, JPTS 1888, p. 80.

(24) Senart, E. I., 7, 58 ; 8, 78, 86.

(25) Pischel, *Grammatik der Prākrit-sprachen* § 256, 229, 139, 140. The *u*-colonr of the separating vowel (Theilvokal) decides the *l*. The nasal varies in the inscriptions admittedly extremely § 224. The Sanskrit form of the river's name is perhaps to be reconstructed as *Dvārnāśa.*

(26) Oldenberg, ZDMG. 39, 88, Hillebrandt *Ritual-Literatur* § 11.

(27) *Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus* II, 390

(28) *Catalogus Codicum manuscriptorum Sanscriticorum Postvedicorum quotquot in Bibliotheca Bodleiana adservantur* I, 139.

(29) *Le Theater Indien* (Paris) 1890 p. 241 f.

(30) GGA 1891 ; p. 358 f. ; DL. 1902, 403.

(31) Bendall has observed : " As Lèvi cites, that is not the *Haridūta*, which is the title of the drama." *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1902), p. 106, n. 3.

(32) Eggling *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office, Part VII, p.* 1602, *Nr.* 4187.

(33) Bendall, JRAS, 1898, p. 231, Catalogue, p. 106.

(34) Eggling at the mentioned place.

(35) By Lèvi at the mentioned place, p. 241. The images given can induce one to think of the shadow-play. So the equipment of the shadow-play was not rich.

(36) Lèvi at the mentioned place, Appendices p. 46.

(37) Kielhorn, *A List of the Inscriptions of the Northern India*, Supplement, p. 14. (= LI NI. S).

(38) Bühler, *Über das Leben des Jaina-Monches Hemacandra* (Wien, 1889).

(39) Kielhorn at the mentioned place.

(40) JRAS, 1898, p. 229 f. *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts at the British Museum* (London, 1902).

(41) *A Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prākrit MSS. in the Indian Institute Library* (Oxford, 1903), p. 81.

(42) *deva* is wanting in some manuscripts. Other deviations, which have nothing to do with the problem discussed here, are not mentioned.

(43) Kielhorn, L I N I Nr. 210, 212. n. 222. Subhaṭa the author of the inscriptions from the time of Udayasiṁhadeva and Cāciga of the years 1273-1276 and 1277 (Kielhorn at the mentioned place Nr. 700-702) is hardly identical with our Subhaṭa.

(44) Konow, Rājaśekhara's *Karpūra-mañjarī*, p. 196.

(45) The notations of the manuscripts are here only provisional, since I have not got all the material at the same time.

(46) I find much pleasure to refer here to Anandaram Barooah's *Bhavabhūti and his place in Sanskrit Literature* (Calcutta 1878), p. 5 ff. cf. also GGA, 1885; 760 obs. 1. Specially the longer recension of the *Dūtāṅgada* possesses many verses of the *Mahānāṭaka*.

(47) *Jahrbucher für wissenschaftliche kritik* 1846, I, p. 472 ff.

(48) GGA 1885, p. 760. obs. 1.

(49) *Le Theater Indien*, p. 156, 244.

(50) Lèvi at the mentioned place p. 243. I may refer here to the fact that the stanza *ayi khalu vismayaḥ* etc. which is mentioned in the *Bhoja-prabandha*

(ed. Parab, Bombay 1896) and the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* p. 98 f. occurs not only in both the recensions of the *Mahānāṭaka* (14.49 of the longer recension and 9, 97 of the shorter recension) but also in the *Dūtāṅgada* stanza 49, likewise in both the recensions. In the *Sāraṅgadharapaddhati* 4005 it appears as anonymous (*kasyāpi*). I reserve the details for the edition of the *Dūtāṅgada.*

(51) See Kielhorn, *Brüchstücke indischer Schauspiele in Inschriften zu Ajmere* in the felicitation volume at the ceremony of 150 years' continuity of the Royal Association of sciences at Göttingen, Berlin 1901.

(52) Cf. Lèvi mentioned work, Appendix p. 46.

(53) ibid p. 244.

(54) *The Theatre of the Hindus,* p. 390 : the composition was perhaps intended to introduce a spectacle of the battle and procession.

(55) The mentioned place p. 242, toutes as pieces....semblent des ouvrages de circonstance, designés à amener un spectacle final, à justifier un grand deploiement de mise en scène.

(56) GGA, 1891, p. 357 f.

(57) Bühler, *Indische Paleographie* § 39, p. 95, 12 v.u.

(58) *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie,* Band VII (Leiden 1894), supplement on the table IV there occurs a picture of Aṅgada.

(59) The Manuscript F = Bodleian Library, Aufrecht Nr. 278 shows the epic form with inserted stanzas from the drama. Here the chapters are called sargas and the entire work at the conclusion the chāyānāṭaka. This manuscript demands a special treatment.

(60) A German translation of the treatise by Minajer is published in the appendix to the translation of Indian stories and legends from Kamaon next to Frl. Olga Niembuhr.

(61) *Das Schattentheater in seiner Wanderung von Morgenland zum Abendland,* p. 4. The origin of the Siamese shadow-play from the Javaneese and the originality of the Javaneese has been much questioned by the evidence of the Indian.

(62) *The Early History of India* (Oxford, 1904).

(63) I agree with Garbe, *Deutsche Rundschau* 28, 267 f.

(64) Hermes 28, 465 ff 29, 155 ff.

(65) Jacob, *Turkische Litteratur-geschichte in Einzeldarstellung* I, 29 ff (Berlin 1900).

(66) Reich, *Der Mimus* I, 616 ff. DLZ 1903, p. 2682 ff. For the travel of the Indian actor I shall refer here besides the expression *caraṇa* only to the

story of Sāmā, Jātaka III, 59 ff = *Mahāvastu* II, 168 ff and also to the *Harivaṁśa* 2, 91, 19 f = 8578 f. ed. calc. The *Avadānaśataka* places the dramatic art already at the time of the Buddha Krakucchanda. An instructor of the actors (naṭācārya) comes from the Deccan to Śobhāvatī and performs with his actors a Buddhistic drama (S. V. Oldenberg Zapiski IV, 393 f).

(67) Horovitz, *Spuren griechischen Mimen in Orient* (Berlin, 1905), p. 96.

ON THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE ALLOPANIṢAD

(The Upaniṣad of Allàh)

By

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The *Allopaniṣad* or the Upaniṣad of Allàh was composed during Akbar's reign, under his directions, about 1580 A.D. at Fatehpur Sikri. It has not been mentioned by Abul Fazl ; Badaoni too does not quote it and only alludes to it indirectly, as shall be discussed in the following pages. Later Persian chronicles are silent on the point. It is only through a distant source that its text is available. Dayanand Saraswati mentioned and quoted it in full in the 14th *samullāsa* (chapter) of his *Satyārtha-Prakāśa* and first published it in V. S. 1939/1882 A.D,[1] It thus reads as follows :

आयाल्लोपनिषदं व्यख्यास्यामः

अस्माल्लां इल्ले मित्रावरुणा दिव्यानि धत्ते ।
इल्लल्ले वरुणो राजा पुनर्ददुः
हया मित्रो इल्लां इल्लल्ले इल्लां ।
वरुणो मित्रस्तेजस्कामः ॥ १ ॥
होतारमिन्द्रो होतारमिन्द्र महासूरिन्द्राः ।
अल्लो ज्येष्ठं श्रेष्ठं परमं पूर्णं ब्रह्माणं अल्लाम् ॥ २ ॥
अल्लोरसूलमहामदरकबरस्य अल्लो अल्लाम् ॥ ३ ॥
आदल्लाबूकमेककम् । अल्लाबूक निखातकम् ॥ ४ ॥
अल्लो यज्ञेन हुतहुत्वा अल्ला सूर्य्यचन्द्रसर्वनक्षत्राः ॥ ५ ॥
अल्ला ऋषीणां सर्वदिव्यां इन्द्राय पूर्वं मायापरमन्तरिक्षाः ॥ ६ ॥
अल्लः पृथीव्या अन्तरिक्षं विश्वरूपम् ॥ ७ ॥
इल्लांः कबर इल्लां कबर इल्लां इल्लल्लेति इल्लल्लाः ॥ ८ ॥
ओम् अल्लाइल्लल्ला अनादिस्वरूपाय अथर्वणाश्यामा
हुं ह्रीं जनानपशुनसिद्धान् जलचरान् अदृष्टं कुरु कुरु फट् ॥ ९ ॥
असुरसंहारिणी हुं ह्रीं अल्लोरसूलमहमदरकबरस्य अल्लो
अल्लाम् इल्लल्लेति इल्लल्लाः ॥ १० ॥

—इत्यल्लोपनिषत् समाप्ता—२.

In meaning and implication, it can be translated as follows : " Alláh is Mitra, Alláh is Varuṇa ;[3] He bears all the divinities. As Varuṇa, Allàh is Almighty and sustains the whole universe. As Mitra, He is all-pervading (omni-present, *sarva-vyāpaka*); together as Mitra and Varuṇa, Allàh is the bestower of Tejas and Desire—The two eternal causes of the creation. (1).

He is Indra, the Lord of the gods; Alláh is the Hotā[4] of the Sacrificial Fire (*yajña*); Allàh is great, Alláh is supreme; He is one and all and *Brahma-rūpa*. (2).

There is Alláh, He is one and all (*sarvasva*) and Mahāmad Akbar[5] is His Prophet. (3).

Allàh is the source of this phenomenal world (*jagat*) and is all pervading. (4).

All *yajñas* are performed to Him. Allàh is Surya, He is Candra and the stars and all the celestial bodies—the whole heavenly tabernacle is His manifestation. (5).

He is *ṛṣi*, He is Indra the Lord of the gods and He has shown himself as *Māyā-rūpa* in the *Antarikṣa*. (6).

Allàh is *pṛthvī*, He is *Antarikṣa*—in fact, He is the whole *viśvarūpa*. (7).

Allàh is great, Allàh is great, He is one and all and there is none else except Him.[6] (8).[7]

Allàh is *Anādisvarūpa*, He is cause of everything and the Vedas sing hymns for Him. Let Allàh grant us the best part of human beings, animals, water-creatures, sages and the unseen divinities (e.g. *Bhūta, preta, yakṣa, kinnara, gandharva* etc.) i.e. let this world be propitious to us. (9).

Allàh is *śakti*, the dynamic cause of the phenomenal world and the destroyer of evil. Allàh is great and Mahāmad Akbar is His Prophet. He is one and all and there is none else except Him. (10).[8]

This gives an extremely interesting reading. First and foremost, the text obviously shows that this upaniṣad was composed under the direction of the Mughal Emperor Akbar (A.D. 1556-1605) by a person or persons who knew both the Sanskrit and the Arabic. The *Allopaniṣad* is thus a strange mixture of Sanskrit and Arabic and also, at the same time, a mixture of Vedic, precisely upaniṣadic, thought and the Islamic creed.

While the Brāhmaṇas of the Vedas contain the ritualistic texts the Upaniṣads dealt with the Vedic thought and knowledge, giving emphasis on the *Jñana* aspect instead of the *karma-kāṇḍa*. In fact, the word *upa-niṣad* itself means the Highest Thought. Originally there were few Vedic upaniṣads, e.g. *Ī'sa, Kena, Kaṭha, Prasṇa Taittirīya, Aitareya, Chāndogya, Bṛahadāraṇyaka* and *Śvetāśvatara*. Upaniṣads were later composed from time to time under *Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Śākta* and other sects and the process of creating new upaniṣads continued even in the 20th century when *Piṇḍa-Brahmāṇḍa-Upaniṣad* was composed by Swami Keshavanand. so much so that now about 200 upaniṣads exist. However, all these upaniṣads drew inspiration from the Vedic thought and discussed the monotheistic concept of the phenomenal world. All of them described the supreme deity as *anādi*, *avyakta*, *nirākāra*, *nirañjan* and *sarva-vyāpaka*.

The text of the *Allopaniṣad* too coincides with the fundamental theme of the oldest Vedic upaniṣads and describes Allah, the *Puruṣa*, in identical terms. It may thus be compared with *Muṇḍakopansṣad*, 2.1.4. :—

अग्निर्मूर्धा चक्षुषी चन्द्रसूर्यौ
दिशः श्रोत्रे वाग्विवृताश्च वेदाः।
वायुः प्राणो हृदयं विश्वमस्य
पद्भ्यां पृथिवी ह्येष सर्वभूतान्तरात्मा ॥

(Whose forehead is Agni-*Dyuloka*-moon and sun are eyes, directions are ears, veda is speech, vāyu is breath, the whole universe is heart and earth appeared from whose feet, that deity, the *Puruṣa*, pervades the whole physical bodies); And *Muṇḍakopaniṣad*, 2.1.3. :—

एतस्माज्जायते प्राणो मनः सर्वेन्द्रियाणि च।
खं वायुर्ज्योतिरापः पृथिवी विश्वस्य धारिणी ॥

(*Prāṇa*, *mana*, all *indriyas*, *Ākāśa*, *Vāyu*, *Tejas*, *jala* and this *Pṛthvī* which bears the whole world have been produced from this *Puruṣa*-i.e. He is the ultimate cause of their being); And *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad*, 3.19. :—

अपाणिपादो जवनो ग्रहीता
पश्यत्यचक्षुः स शृणोत्यकर्णः।
स वेत्ति वेद्यं न च तस्यास्ति वेत्ता
तमाहुरग्र्यं पुरुषं महान्तम् ॥

(He has no hands yet He receives, He has no feet yet He walks, He has no eyes yet He sees, He has no ears yet He hears; He knows all but nobody knows Him. Sages have called Him the Great *Ādipuruṣa*).

Allopaniṣad seems to have been composed c. 1580 A.D. when Akbar was residing at Fatehpur Sikri and his zeal for religious innovations was at the zenith. Badaoni confirms many points of the *Allopaniṣad* in his *Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh.*[9] It may be noted that Badaoni, though an orthodox mulla, was an honest chronicler and, as eye-witness of a large period of Akbar's reign, he is fairly well reliable. Akbar's was a mysterious, almost an elusive, personality and Abul Fazl's narrative, an eulogy of the Emperor by a courtier as it is, is deficient in many respects; Badaoni provides a truer account and paints a fuller picture. We have sympathy for him when sometimes he laments for his own weaknesses more truthfully than any other historian of the Mughal age has done. For example, he noted : " The Emperor appointed me as an Imam and directed me also to undertake the office of marking the Imperial horses with the brand. He gave me no very considerable travelling expenses and ordered me from the first to act as mansabdar commanding twenty in bringing horses to the brand. Shaikh Abul Fazl was treated in the same way, so that we were, as Shabli said with respect to Junaid 'both baked in one kiln'. Yet he at once making a successful beginning worked so strenuously at the dagh-u-mahalli business that he managed by his intelligence and time-serving qualities to raise himself to a mansab of two thousand and the dignity of wazir. While I from my inexperience and simplicity would not manage to continue in the service.[10]" That he plainly admits the superior talent of his greatest rival and his own weakness shows that he is an honest and trustworthy historian. At the same time, while Abul Fazl has devoted himself almost entirely to court-matters, Badaoni concerned himself most to religious affairs. In fact, his history is a grand commentary on Akbar's religious mood and measures. He is thus most relevant in the present context.

(1) Badaoni complained bitterly of Akbar's repudiation of the orthodox tenets of Islam and suppression of the ulema and even charged the Emperor of having renounced Islam; thus he noted:—" And persons of novel and whimsical opinions, in accordance with their pernicious ideas and vain doubts, coming out of ambush decked the false in the garb of the true and wrong in the dress of right and cast the Emperor who was possessed of an excellent disposition and was an earnest searcher after truth but very ignorant and a mere tyro and used to the company of infidels and base persons into perplexity till doubt was heaped upon doubt and he lost all definite aim and the straight wall of the clear Law and of firm Religion was broken down so that after five or six years not a trace of Islam was left in him. "[11]

Badaoni went as far as to suggest that Akbar ridiculed the Prophet Muhammad and his so-called revelations : " One night the Emperor in Fathullah's presence, said to Birbal, 'I really wonder how any one in his sense can believe that a man whose body has a certain weight, could in the space of a moment leave his bed, go up to heaven, there have 90,000 conversations with God and yet on his return find his bed still warm'! " So also was the splitting of the moon ridiculed. "[12]

Badaoni recorded his estimate of Akbar's personality as follows : " From childhood to manhood and from manhood to his declining years the Emperor had combined in himself various phases from various religions and opposite sectarian beliefs and by a peculiar acquisitiveness and a talent for selection, by no means common, had made his own all that can be seen and read in books. Thus a faith of a materialistic character became painted on the mirror of his mind and the storehouse of his imagination, and from the general impression this conviction took like an engraving upon a stone, that there are wisemen to be found and ready at hand in all religions, and men of asceticism and recipients of revelation and workers of miracles among all nations and that the Truth is an inhabitant of every place; and that consequently how could it be right to consider it as confined to one religion or creed and that, one which had only recently made its appearance and had not as yet endured a thonsand years ! "[13] One can judge for himself how far Badaoni's complaint that Akbar believed truth to be in all religions and not confined to Islam alone, was justified ! ![14]

Badaoni, throughout his narrative, complained of the decline of Islam at the behest of the Emperor. Once he recorded : " His Majesty had also the early history of Islam read out to him and soon began to think less of the Sahabah (companions of the Prophet Muhammad). Soon after, the observance of the five prayers and the fasts, and the belief in everything connected with the Prophet were put down as vain superstitions and man's reason, not tradition was acknowledged as the only basis of religion . . . And the Resurrection and Judgement and other details and traditions of which the Prophet was the repository he laid all aside. And he made his courtiers continually listen to those revilings and attacks against our pure and easy, bright and holy faith . . . . every precept which was enjoined by the doctors of other religions he treated as manifest and decisive, in contradistinction to this Religion of ours, all the doctrines of which he set down to be senseless, and of modern origin and the founders of it as nothing but poor Arabs, a set of scoundrels and highway-robbers and the people of Islam as accursed . . . . By degrees the affair was carried to such a pitch that proofs were no longer considered necessary for abolishing the precepts of Islam. "[15] And Badaoni went on to assert : " I have made bold to chronicle these events . . . . God is my witness and sufficient is God as a witness that my inducement to write this has been nothing but sorrow for the faith and heart-burning for the deceased Religion of Islam which henceforth became a non entity and still is so. "[16]

(2) Badaoni's history gives the impression that over and above all those measures which Akbar adopted to emancipate his State from the orthodox Islam and its tenets, Hajj or Pilgrimage to Mecca was also discouraged if not actually banned.[17] He noted that Abdullah Sultanpuri had given a fatwa that the ordinance of pilgrimage was no longer binding but even hurtful.[18] Later, he complained of it with greater anguish and reproach : " The prayers of Islam, the fast, nay, even the pilgrimage were henceforth forbidden. Some bastards, such as the son of Mulla Mubarik, a worthy disciple of Shaikh Abul Fazl wrote traditions in order to revile and ridicule our religious practices, of course with proofs . . . . During those days also the public prayers and the azan, which was chanted five times a day for assembly to prayer in the State hall were abolished. "[19]

It seems that Akbar wanted Ajmer to be the centre of Muslim pilgrimage in India, some way in a nationalistic spirit. If Hajj is a necessary religious injunction binding upon every pious musalman, let it be performed in India itself, i.e. at Ajmer. That is why, as it appears, he himself went to Ajmer most frequently and generously patronized the Dargah of Sheikh Moinuddin Chishti. In fact he did not like Akbar to pay such a great regard to the Khwaja in preference to the Prophet and complained: "It was strange that His Majesty should have such a faith in the Khwajah of Ajmer while he rejected the foundation of everything our Prophet, from whose 'skirt' hundreds of thousands of saints of the highest degree like the Khwajah had sprung."[20]

Badaoni's allusion to one such pilgrimage of Akbar to Ajmer is very interesting, "On the sixth of the month Rajab[21] which is the anniversary of the decease of Hazrat Khwajah (Moinuddin Chishti) the Emperor arrived at Ajmer. And Sultan Khwajah son of Khwaja Khawand Mahmud he appointed Mir Haji and sent a sum of six lacs of rupees in money and goods to be distributed among the deserving people of Makkah and Madinah and for building a Khanah in the sacred precincts. When the Emperor dismissed Sultan Khwaja on his road to the two sacred cities, he himself with bare head and feet, and dressed in the 'Ihram' and every respect clothed like a pilgrim, and having shorn his head a little, went a little distance in his train."[22] It is interesting to note that he would be wearing a Haji's paraphernalia and posing to perform Hajj at Ajmer! It seems certain, however, that even if he wanted to raise Ajmer to the status of Mecca, he would not ride roughshod and would bid his time till the right opportunity arrived and till then he would maintain the wire warm. That Akbar had littte personal regard for the Kabah is confirmed by Badaoni himself, "Another (custom introduced by Akbar in 995/1586-87) was that they should bury a man with his head towards the East and his feet to the West: And he always fixed his own going to sleep in this manner."[23] Thus he slept with his feet towards the direction of the Kabah which is no less than its total repudiation.

(3). Badaoni complains in detail how Akbar believed in non-Islamic practices particularly in Sun-worship.[21] He notes with scorn and contempt, "The accursed Birbal tried to persuade the Emperor that since the Sun gives light to all, and ripens all grain, fruits and products of the earth, and supports the life of mankind, therefore that luminary should be the object of worship and veneration; that the face should be turned towards the rising and not towards the setting sun (i.e. towards Mecca) which is the west; that man should venerate fire, water, stones and trees, and all natural objects, even down to cows and their dung; that he should adopt the sectarian mark (*tilaka*) and Brahmanical thread (*yajñopavīta*). Several wisemen at court confirmed what he said by representing that the Sun was 'The greater light' of the world, and the benefactor of its inhabitants, the patron of kings, and that kings are but his vice-regents. This was the cause of the worship paid to the Sun on the Nou-roz-i-Jalali and of his being induced to adopt that festival for the celebration of his accession to the throne. Every day he used to put on clothes of that particular colour which accords with that of day the regent-planet of the day. He began also at midnight and early dawn, to mutter the spells, which Hindus taught him, for the purpose of subduing the Sun to his wishes. . . . From early youth, in compliment to his wives, the daughters of Rajahs of Hind, he had within the female apartments continued to offer the Hom, which is a ceremony derived from Sun-worship ; but on the New year of the 25th year after his accession he prostrated himself both before the Sun, and before the fire in public, and in the evening the whole court had to rise up respectfully when the lamps and candles were lighted."[25]

Badaoni went on to describe Akbar's belief in Sun-worship more explicitly later : " A second order was given (c. 991/1583) that the Sun should be worshipped four times a day, in the morning and evening and at noon and midnight. His Majesty had also one thousand and one Sanskrit names for the Sun collected and read them daily at noon, devoutly turning towards the Sun. . . And every evening there was a regular court assembly. . . . No sooner had His Majesty finished saying the thousand and one names of the ' Greater Luminary ' and stepped out into the balcony, than the whole crowd prostrated themselves. Cheating, thieving Brahmans collected another set of one thousand and one names of ' His Majesty the Sun' and told the Emperor that he was an incarnation like Ram and Krishna and other infidel kings and though Lord of the world, he had assumed his shape in order to play with the people of our planet. . . . Mulla Shiri presented to His Majesty a poem composed by him entitled Hazār Shu'ā (The Thousand Rays) which contained 1000 qitahs in praise of the Sun. His Majesty was much pleased. "[26] The discovery of the *Sūrya-sahasranāma* with the following words written at the end of it :

अमुं श्रीसूर्यसहस्रनामस्तोत्रं प्रत्यहं प्रणमत् पृथ्वीपति कोटीरकोटि संवाहितपदकमल त्रिखण्डाधिपति–दिल्लीपति–पातिसाहि–श्री अकब्बरसाहि जलादीनः । प्रत्यहं शृणोति सोपि प्रतापवान् भवतु ॥

has conclusively confirmed the truth of the statement of Badaoni.[27]

(4) Of greater importance than all these statements of Badaoni regarding Akbar's negation of the orthodox tenets of Islam are his references to the Great Mughal's various measures which he adopted to assume the Khilafat and the Prophethood of Islam. Badaoni's narrative gives the impression that the Emperor first played with the words ' Allah-u-Akbar ' : " In these days His Majesty once asked how people would like it if he ordered the words ' Allah-Akbar ' to be cut on the Imperial seal and the dies of his coins. Most said that the people would like it very much but Haji Ibrahim objected and said that the phrase had an ambiguous meaning and the Emperor might substitute the verse of the Quran ' Lazikrullahi Akbaru ' because it involved no ambiguity. But the Emperor was much displeased and said it was surely sufficient that no man who felt his weakness would claim Divinity; he merely looked to the propriety of the words –how could it be reasonable that his meaning should be so distorted?"[28] As Badaoni alludes, there certainly was a point to claim religious supremacy if not divinity. In any case Akbar liked the phrase for its ambiguity that it could be translated as God is great and also as Akbar is God and we find that the formula was used on coins, the Imperial seals, heading of books and firmans, in salutations under the Din-i-Ilahi and in the Khutba. Badaoni explains it further: "And the expression 'Insan-i-Kamil' he said referred to the Khalif of the age,[29] explaining it in the sense of holiest and interpreting most things in a manner not wholly correct and not a few of them quite wrong he uttered much such like nonsense. And he invented a sijdah for him and called it 'zamin-bos' and looking on the reverence due to a king as an absolute religious command he called the face of the king 'Kaba-i-Muradat' (sanctum of desires) and 'Qiblah-i-Hajat' (goal of necessities). And in support of these matters he brought forward some apocryphal traditions, and the practice of the disciples of some of the shaikhs of India. And thus after a time the titles the Only One, The Perfect Man, became commonly applied to the just, majestic and magnanimous Emperor."[30] It was definitely something more than the exaltation of kingship; it was in fact the assumption of religious supremacy and vindication of the concept of The-King-and-The-Priest. Badaoni confirmed it later explicitly: "In this year (187/1579-80) the Emperor was anxious to unite in his person the spiritual as well as the secular headships for he held it to be an insufferable burden to subordinate to any one, as he had heard that the prophet and his lawful successors and some of the most powerful kings, as Amir Timur Sahibqiran and Mirza Ulugh Beg-i-Gurgan and several others had themselves read the Khutbah, he resolved to do the same apparently in order to imitate their example but in reality to appear in public as the MUJTAHID of the age."[31] Akbar read the Khutba in the Jami' Masjid of Fatehpur Sikri on the first Friday of Jumad'al-awwal 987/1579-80. It was composed by Faizi and contained praises of God. But Prophet Muhammad was not mentioned and its concluding phrase was 'Allahu-Akbar'!

Badaoni recorded without any ambiguity that the Prophet Muhammad was reviled and a large section of the ulemà contented themselves "with mentioning the Unity of God, they next wrote down the various titles of the Emperor and had not the courage to mention the name of the Prophet", so much so that, "His Majesty now determined publicity to use the formula 'There is no God but God and Akbar is God's representative'."[32] This is what is the essence of the *Allopaniṣad*, viz.

अल्लोरबूलमहामद्ऽकबरस्य अल्लो अल्लाम् इल्लेति इल्लाः

(Allàh is Great and Mahāmad Akbar is his Prophet. He is One and All and there is none else except Him.)

According to Badaoni, Akbar was declared the ' Sahib-i-Zaman ' and various proofs were collected of his being the MAHDI. " All this made the Emperor the more inclined to claim the dignity of a prophet, perhaps I should say, the dignity of something else (i.e. of God !)"[33].

The *Allopanisad* has not been directly mentioned by Badaoni and the closest reference in his history is as follows: " His Majesty gave me the order to translate the Atharban (*Atharva-Veda*)[34] ...... Among the precepts of the Atharban there is one which says that no man will be saved unless he reads a certain passage. This passage contains many times the letter l, and resembles very much our ' La illah illa'llah '. "[35] This is what we read in the *Allopaniṣad*. Badaoni might not have been given its name and probably the *Allopaniṣad* was not in circulation. But the overwhelming references of Badaoni regarding the repudiation of orthodox tenets of Islam by Akbar including some of the basic injunctions, and his repudiation of the Prophet Muhammad and institution of a new Kalma substituting Muhammad's name by his own, confirm that the *Allopaniṣad* was composed under Akbar's directions. It reflects unmistakably the religious views and beliefs of Akbar as Badaoni vouchsafed them, and in fact contains Akbar's name. It follows the concept of the Unity of Absolute Being. The Islamic creed could not have been integrated with the Vedic deities in any other age than that of Akbar and under no other medieval despot except him who had the vision and boldness to ride on innovations and who cared little for the Ulema. Most conclusive is Akbar's own Kalma, viz.

" अल्लोरसूलमहामद्रकबरस्य अल्लो अल्लाम् इल्लेति इल्लाः "

which is the main theme of the *Allopanisad* and its central pillar like his (so-called) Diwan-i-Khas of Fatehpur Sikri.

Though it looks strange that an upaniṣad of Allah could be composed, there is nothing extraordinary. It only shows the genius of the Indian pundit and the extreme adaptability of his outlook to accept and integrate anything foreign into his own system. We know for certain that the Indian pundit while he fought zealously against the atheistic religion of the Buddha, accepted the Buddha himself within his pantheon and honoured him as an *Avatara* of Viṣṇu. In the *Agni-Purāṇa* as early as c. 4th century A.D. the *Buddha-avatāra* has been thus described :—

वक्ष्ये बुद्धावतारं च पठतः श्रृण्वतोऽर्थदम् ।
पुरा देवासुरे युद्धे दैत्यैर्देवाः पराजिताः ॥ १ ॥
रक्ष रक्षेति शरणं वदन्तो जग्मुरीश्वरम् ।
मायामोहस्वरूपोऽसौ शुद्धोदनसुतोऽभवत् ॥ २ ॥

मोहयामास दैत्यांस्तांस्त्याजिता वेदधर्मकम् ।
ते च बौद्धाबभूवुर्हि तेभ्योऽन्ये वेदवर्जिताः ॥ ३ ॥

(*Agni-Purāṇa, I. 16. 1-3*).

If he could reconcile with an atheistic concept, there could have been little practical difficulty in accepting the monotheistic philosophy of the Islam into his own system in his own way.

The *Allopaniṣad* gives an idea of the religious views of Akbar who was thoroughly inquisitive and a sincere seeker of truth. After the discourses of the Ibadatkhana, he came to the conclusion that truth is not confined to Islam which is comparatively a new religion, but other religions also have a sound philosophy. Gradually, he bent towards Hinduism.

This was also a political expediency that he should maintain an outlook which would not offend his Hindu allies, viz. the Rajput mansabdars who formed not only the bulwarks of the Empire but also its main pillars. It was necessary that the theocratic concept of State should be set aside and it should be emancipated from the control or even interference of the Ulemà who professed to use the state only as means to the propagation and exaltation of the Islam. This was not possible in such a land as Hindustan where the-non-believers outnumbered the faithfuls by ten to one, where the cultural institutions were too strong to be tempered with and religion was not a spiritual luxury but the very way of the life of the people ! Akbar realized that the Ulemà point of view was doing the greatest harm to the interests of Muslim state in India and, in order to plant a dynasty of his own in the Indian soil on permanent footing, the uncompromising tenets of Islam would have to be set aside. Such a vast country could not be ruled without spontaneous and active cooperation of the Hindus and nothing would more enrol and ensure this cooperation than the total repudiation of the Mulla point of view. This would bring about religious conciliation and consequently social harmony and the State with reinforced strength and vigour would then be free to deal with political and administrative programmes. The *Allopaniṣad* was a sublime attempt of Akbar to bring about fusion and integration of the two cultures and the two warring peoples; in view of the magnitude of the problem and the colossal risk involved, his was indeed a great attempt, probably greater than his Din-i-Ilahi.[36]

References

(1) The first edition of the *Satyārtha-Prakāśa* contained only 12 chapters. The two chapters, the 13th on refutal of the Christianity and 14th on refutal of the Islam were later added to it and first published in V.S. 1939/ 1882 A.D.

(2) Cf. *Satyārtha-Prakāśa* of Dayanand Saraswati (V. S. 2028 New Delhi) p. 421.

(3) Mitra and Varuṇa are the Vedic deities, e.g.

शं नो मित्रः शं वरुणाः
शं नो भवत्वर्य्यमा ।
शं न इन्द्रो बृहस्पतिः
शं नो विष्णुरुरुक्रमः ॥
(*Ṛgveda*, 1.90.9).

(4) *Ṛgveda*, 10.71.11 states that *Hōtā* (होता) (the Ṛgvedic sage) read the *ṛcas* in *yajña*, *Udgātā* (उद्गाता) (the Sāmavedic sage) sang the *sāmas*, *Adhvaryu* (अध्वर्यु) (the Yajurvedic sage) read the *yajus* and performed the rituals of the *yajña* and *Brahmā* (ब्रह्मा) (The Atharva vedic sage) warded off the evil spirits by his magical *mantras*. Obviously, the *Hōtā* took the leading part in the performance of *yajña*.

(5) This may also be a Sanskritized form of Muhammad Akbar.

(6) It may also mean that Akbar is great and there is none else on earth to match him, or that Akbar is God, i.e. Akbar is the Shadow of God.

(7) It is a virtual Sanskritized form of the Islamic creed : ' La illaha illillah, Muhammad rasool Allah '.

(8) This is also a form of the Islamic creed.

(9) Hereinafter referred to as *MT*. II (*Muntakhabu't-Tawarikh*, Vol. II (tr. Lowe W. H., Delhi, 1973).

(10) *MT*. II. 209.

(11) *MT*. II. 262.

(12) *MT*. II. 326. He further complained that even the Quran was branded as forged and authority of the prophets was challenged, Cf. *Ibid*. II. 281.

(13) *MT*. II. 263-64.

(14) Akbar's viewpoint in this respect has been recorded by Abul Fazl under the title " The Sayings of His Majesty ", e.g. " It is my duty to be in good understanding with all men. If they walk in the way of God's will, interference with them would be in itself reprehensible, and if otherwise, they are under the malady of ignorance and deserve my compassion " (*Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. IIItr. Jarrett H. S., Calcutta, 1894, pp. 384-85).

(15) *MT*. II. 215, 264, 269.

(16) *MT*. II. 272.

(17) Khwaja Muhammad Yahya was appointed Mir-Hajj in 986/1578-79 Cf. *MT*. II. 275. This shows that it was not formally abolished.

(18) *MT.* II. 206.

(19) *MT.* II. 316, 324. Badaoni confirms over and over again that about and after 987/1579-80 Akbar annulled the statutes and ordinances of Islam and instituted his own innovations, e.g. Cf. *Ibid*, pp. 281-326. Mahzar was promulgated in 1579. Akbar himself recited the Khutba about the same time. Revolutionary proceedings of the Ibadatkhana took place between 1579 and 1582. Finally, Din-i-Ilahi was promulgated in 1582.

(20) *MT.* II. 280, 281.

(21) i.e. in the year 984/1576-77.

(22) *MT.* II. 246.

(23) *MT.* II. 368.

(24) For details of this aspect reference may be made to the author's paper "The Diwan-i-Khas of Fatehpur Sikri : A Symbol of Akbar's Belief in Sūrya-Puruṣa", *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Calcutta, Vol. XII No. 4 (1972-73) pp. 197-211.

(25) *MT.* II. 268, 269.

(26) *MT.* II. 332, 336, 346.

(27) Reference may be made to the author's *op.cit.* paper on the Diwan-i-Khas of Fatehpur Sikri for details of the *Sūrya-Sahasranāma* of Akbar. Abul Fazl quoted a few sayings of Akbar among which two are in praise of the Sun, e.g. " A special grace proceeds from the Sun in favour of kings, and for this reason they pray and consider it a worship of the Almighty; but the short-sighted are thereby scandalized " and " To light a candle is to commemorate the (rising of the) Sun. To whomsoever the Sun sets, what other remedy hath he but this ", Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari* Vol. III op.cit. pp. 388, 393. It is also interesting to note that almost all major gold coins of Akbar bore the lengend of the Sun, Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I (tr. Blochmann H.) (Delhi, 1965) pp. 28-29.

(28) *MT.* II. 213.

(29) Badaoni actually addresses Akbar as 'The Khalif of the Age', Cf. *MT.* II. 271.

(30) *MT.* II. 266.

(31) *MT.* II. 276.

(32) *MT.* II. 277, 281; Badaoni however noted that as it led to commotion its use was restricted to the Harem. This happened in 987/1579-80, Cf. *MT.* II. 281.

(33) *MT.* II. 295.

(34) Abul Fazl also writes it as ‘ *Atharvan* ’ Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari* Vol. III op.cit. p. 219.

(35) *MT.* II. 216.

(36) Akbar’s many facets’ personality has been largely clouded behind the eulogical narratives of the modern text-book writers and needs a thorough re-investigation. A few research-papers of the present author, besides those already mentioned above, throw light on a few aspects of his extremely mysterious personality and may be referred to for an assessment of Akbar, e.g. “ Depiction of Fabulous Animals (Gaja-Vyāla) at the Delhi-Gate of Agra Fort ”, *Medieval India : A Miscellany*, Aligarh Vol. 2 (1972) ; “ The Personality of Akbar as revealed in the Inscriptions of Fatehpur Sikri and Agra ’, *Indo-Iranica*, Calcutta, Vol. XXV Nos. 3-4 (Silver Jubilee Number); “ Mayura-Mandapa of Akbar in the Agra Fort”, *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal* Hoshiarpur, Vol. XI (1973) ; “ Depiction of a Tantric Symbol in Mughal Architecture ”, *Journal of Indian History*, Trivandrum Vol. 53 (In press) and “ Mughal Concept of Sovereignty as traced in the Inscriptions of Fatehpur Sikri, Agra and Delhi, (1570-1655) ”, Indica, Bombay, Vol. XI No. 2 (September 1974).

"KŪṬIYĀṬṬAM AND ITS LINKS WITH CLASSICAL SANSKRIT THEATRE"

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(There is a widespread belief that the tradition of the classical Sanskrit theatre is dead. The present study attempts to show that in Kūṭiyāṭṭam, the traditional Sanskrit theatre of Kerala, it still lives in its regional form.)

The mention of the various chapters and verses is from the translation of the Nāṭyaśāstra by M. M. Ghose, Calcutta, unless otherwise stated.

Note :
1. Sanskrit words begin with capital letters and are in Italics.
2. Malayalam words are also in Italics, but do *not* begin with capital letters.
3. Proper names, names of dramatic forms and names of plays or their acts etc., begin with capital letters and are *not* in Italics.

Kerala, on the south-western tip of the Indian Peninsula, is the treasure-land of many of our traditional theatre forms, religious and secular. Some have retained their simplicity and ritualistic character, while others have attained a high degree of sophistication and aesthetic refinement. Among the latter are the Kūttu, Kṛṣṇāṭṭam and Kathakali. The Kūttu among these has three varieties—the Prabandham Kūttu, Nāṅṅyār Kūttu and Kūṭiyāṭṭam.

The actors and the actresses of the Kūttu are called the *cākyār*s and the *naṅṅyār*s. They are the hereditary actors and actresses performing the Kūttu for generations over the centuries [1-3] and are devoted solely to the art which is a form of worship of their Lord. The *nampiyār*s provide the musical accompaniment to them during the performance. The *nāṅṅyārs* are the womenfolk of the *nampiyars*. The *nāṅṅyārs* sing the verses of the text and provide rhythm with the cymbals during the staging of the Kūṭiyāṭṭam, and also act in the women's roles.

The Prabandham-kūttu is a solo performance by the *cākyārs*. In the Prabandham-kūttu the actor draws his material from the Purāṇas and the epics and for many days he entertains, instructs or castigates the audience. It is generally performed during the daytime in some of the temple theatres called the Kūttam-

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[1] The earliest reference to them is to be found in the Śilappadikāram—the Tamil classic dated variously from second to Seventh century A.D.

[2] "A stone inscription of 932 A.D. mentions a '*nāṅṅyār*'-M.G.S. Nārāyaṇa in "Devdāsi System of Kerala"—*Kathakali Annual, 1966.*

[3] There are other literary and inscriptional evidences from the 10th century onwards pertaining to "*cākyārkūttu*" in Kerala.

palams. The music is provided by the *nampiyārs* on the *mizhāvu*-s, very large oval-shaped copper drums.

The Nāṅṅyār-kūttu is again a solo performance and is enacted by the *nāṅṅyārs* and hence the name. This is performed during the night in the temple theatre at Ampalappuzhā and at other places. The stories enacted by them are based on the Bhāgawata Purāṇa dealing with the life of Kṛṣṇa.

But the Kūṭiyāṭṭam occupies a unique place among the traditional forms of not only of Kerala but the country as a whole. Its great antiquity, its direct link with the classical Sanskrit drama, its characteristic method of presenting these plays and its permanent theatre-building give it this uniqueness. From it have been derived, perhaps, the other two Kerala forms—Kṛṣṇāṭṭam and Kathakali and are greatly influenced by it in their *Āṅgika*, *Sāttvika* and *Āhārya Abhinayas*. These have given Kūṭiyāṭṭam this uniqueness which no other form can claim.

Kūṭiyāṭṭam means the joint acting (*Kūṭi* joint and *āṭṭam*-acting). It may be interpreted as the joint acting by men and women as it is one of the few forms in which both take part as they did in the classical Sanskrit plays, and also peraphs because of all the four *Abhinayas* in it. It is the regional presentation of the classical Sanskrit plays and is the only one of its kind still in existence in India. It reflects the classical tradition and yet has a strong local flavour. Shorn of its wrappings of region and time, it perhaps provides us with a kernel of one of the methods of staging the classical plays and therefore its study is invaluable on this account also. The producers of the classical Sanskrit drama and the scholars writing on the subject not only of India, but of the world as well, will some day pay their humble homage to Kūṭiyāṭṭam.

In not a very distant past many plays were presented in the Kūttampalams in Kerala. The plays presented were of Bhāsa (the manuscripts of whose plays were discovered from the *cākyārs* and became famous as the "Thirteen Trivendram Plays"), Kālidāsa Harṣa, Mahendravikrama, Bodhāyana, Śaktibhadra and Kulaśekharavarman of whom the last two and also perhaps the first belonged to Kerala itself. Those days are no more. Yet fortunately certain acts from a few of these plays are still being staged during the Dassera festival days and on other occasions in some of the more important Kūttampalams.

Kūṭiyāṭṭam is a form of dance-drama, Nāṭya, as was the classical Sanskrit drama which followed the rules laid down by the Nāṭyaśāstra. We may examine the various elements that link it with the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata.

ĀṄGIKA :—Basically, Kūṭiyāṭṭam is an *Āṅgika-Abhinaya* based form if we were to exclude some of the elements which seem to have been incorporated in it during the course of the centuries.

The presentation of even a single act of a particular play in Kūṭiyāṭṭam may take many days depending upon the length of the act and upon whether the Vidūṣaka appears in it or not and also on the actor's depth of knowledge and experience in improvising on interpreting the text. The need for the capitulation of the past events of the story called *nirvahaṇa* to bring it upto the point from where the particular act to be staged begins, also adds to its length.

The *cākyār* may concentrate on one of the verses in the text and go on amplifying its crucial words interpreting them with the associated ideas in an exhaustive manner, which ultimately feed and strengthen its meaning. For example, the verse in Abhiṣekanāṭakam of Bhāsa, Act III, named Aśokavanikāṅka [4] which deals with the captivity of Sīta in the Aśoka grove in Laṅkā and Hanumān's delivery of message of Rāma and his finger-ring to her, and how he creates a havoc in the garden under the very nose of the keeper named Śaṅkhakarṇa. Helpless before the might of Hanumān he rushes breathless to Rāvaṇa to report to him the utter devastation that has been caused to the beautiful trees and creepers laden with fruits and flowers and asks the door-keeper panting for breath and trembling with fear where his majesty is. And on the door-keeper's questioning him for the cause of such unusual excitement, he explains in a verse beginning with the words:

" Yasyām na priyamanḍanāpi mahiṣī devasya Mandodarī ... " etc.

The actor takes up the key words in the verse with the possible association that they may suggest, to interprete them in great detail. In speaking of the *Vanikā* (grove) he remembers Rāvaṇa's conquest of heaven and bringing from there various heavenly plants and creepers and describes in detail the great labour taken in planting them, tending them and their slow growth and their ultimate flowering. And when the beautiful *Vanikā* was in all its bloom, one day queen Mandodarī came there with her *Sakhis* (friends) for sport. He describes how they played the ball game – the joyous running about, throwing of the ball, catching it. Merrily they play the game for a long time till the queen is tired. Her clothes are soiled and her body is smeared with earth. She takes her bath and the *Sakhīs* dress her in new clothes and put on her various ornaments. Then looking at her reflection in the mirror and gazing at herself, she finds something amiss in her adornment. And she realizes that the flowers in her hair are missing ! She rises and looks around and sees flowers in all their bloom. Joyfully she approaches a creeper and when she is about to pluck the flowers she suddenly recoils from the act thinking that the creeper without the flowers would look as unadorned as herself and that this might anger her lord Rāvaṇa at the disfigurement of the garden tended with great care and love under his stern eye. And alas ! Śaṅkha-karṇa laments, it was this garden in which even Mandodarī—" Deva's Mahiṣī " (lord's consort) did not dare pluck a flower, that now has been ransacked by a mere Monkey ! In this grove he goes on, even the breeze from the Malaya Mountain dared not blow for fear of shedding the delicate flowers. And he goes on from one key-word to another narrating the incidents suggested by them and interpreting them with subtle *Āṅgika Abhinaya*—through the stylized movements of the eyes, eye-brows, eye-lids, eye-balls, cheeks, lips and *Hastas* (codified hand-gestures) with the feet moving in rhythmic steps in accompaniment with instrumental music constantly played in the background, now softly, now loud, according to the *Bhāva* (emotion) expressed by the actor. His range in expressing the *Sañcāri Bhāvas*, (fleeting emotions) is truly amazing and he can go on improvising on this single verse for at least two hours !

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[4] Many Sanskrit plays have separate names for their different acts.

There are many such *Ślokas* in some of the acts staged by the *cākyārs* which are treated in this manner. Apart from these, there are descriptive passages such as the *vanavarṇanam* (description of the beauty of forest), preparation for war, *parvatavarṇanam* (description of a mountain) *keśādipāda-varṇanam*, (description of the beauty of a woman from head to foot) which also are frequently resorted to for the elaboration in the *Abhinaya*, but which acquire different meanings and subtleties in different Rasas.

The actor, thus, goes beyond the written text of the play. The play freezes for a while as if to have a close look at the various shades of meaning hidden within itself and now revealed through the ' improvisations ' of this *cākyār*. He improvises in the manner of a classical dancer or a singer who interpretes a word or a phrase in innumerable ways that show his range, knowledge and experience acquired over decades of sustained self-discipline. Kūṭiyāṭṭam is a professional actor's theatre par excellence in which the words are at times subordinated to the *Āṅgika Abhinaya* and particularly the verses of the text of the play become merely delicate threads on which the varied and imaginative improvisations are strung together to delight the audience by its subtleties and exuberance.

The ten Lāsyāṅgas (NŚ. Vol. I-XX and Vol. II-XXXI) seem to be meant for some such elaboration of the text. These might have been used to interprete the text, to delight the audience and also to show the skill and range of the actor. It is the same actor that performs the various roles, first as Śaṅkhakarṇa, the *Pratīhārī* and then as Mandodarī and finally each of her *Sakhīs*, all the whil dressed in the same costume and with the same make-up. The actor i presenting the various roles shows such command over the characterization o male and female characters with their subtle nuances that one overlooks his costumes and make-up. The more mature the actor the greater the depth and subtlety of his impersonation. In staging most of the acts in the repertoire of the *cākyārs* not more than three characters are needed on the stage. Roles of character not essential for the staging of the act are done by one or the other of the characters.

Another convention the *cākyār* uses during the performance is called the '*nirvahaṇa*' which results from the practice of staging single chosen acts of several plays. Duirng the enactment of the Śūrpaṇakhā—*aṅkam*, the roles of Rāma and Sītā, Lakṣmaṇa and Śūrpaṇakhā are played by the same actor. On the first day in Purappāṭu (introduction of the main character) he appears as Rāma and departs after performing some *Abhinaya*. Second day of the performance begins with his (Rāma's) *nirvahaṇa*, and it is here that he plays the vaiious roles, moving in the past, going backward and forward in time and space and recalls in flash- backs of *Abhinaya*, mostly *Āṅgika*, interspersed with Verses in *Vāchika*, the story preceding the present act. This *nirvahaṇa* goes on for several days till he arrives at the point from where the act proper begins. It is on the last day of the performance that the act (proper) begins and it is only now that all the characters, Rāma, Lakṣamaṇa and Śūrpaṇakhā are present on the stage. But even here the role of Sītā continues to be played by the actor playing Rāma, and Śūrpaṇkhā too is played by a male. The reason seems to be that the nāṅṅyārs (actresses) are not adequately trained to play important roles. The role of Śūrpaṇakhā the demoness, needs vigorous movements and the actor has to show blooddripping breasts in the act.

During *nirvahaṇa*, when the same actor plays different roles, he uses a convention of making a slight change in his *Uttarīya* (entwined cloth hung from the neck). For example, from its normal position of hanging from the neck downwards, he changes it from shoulder to hip, tying the ends in a loose knot to indicate his change of character from Rāma to Laksamaṇa and for Sītā he would tie into a knot the loose ends of his lower garment. By this simple device, repeated several times, he establishes firmly in the minds of the audience the characters he portrays and with the suitable *Abhinaya* and gaits the transformation is complete.

VĀCIKA :—As Kūṭiyāṭṭam is an ancient tradition and as its *Vācika* had to be handed down from teacher to student, we do not know what changes might have taken place in the manner of their using the speech in staging the Sanskrit plays. But even in its present form, Kūṭiyāṭṭam provides us with valuable guidelines to the understanding of the speech-pattern which might have come down from the classical Sanskrit plays. The *Vācika* in Kūṭiyāṭṭam is used in three different ways: (I) *Vācika* expressed in a simple straight speech with natural *Āṅgika*., (II) Stylized recitational speech of the prose with stylized *Āṅgika* and the (III) Speech set to '*swaras*' (notes) to be 'sung', but perhaps more correctly, to be recited, which are the verses of the text of the play, to be expressed in elaborate stylized *Āṅgika.* In some plays where the Vidūṣaka appears along with the King as in Swapnavāsavadattā of Bhāsa, he interpretes the Sanskrit speech of the King in Prakrit and then in straight Malayalam prose for the benefit of the audience and even recites *Pratiślokas* to create laughter. But when he appears alone for his *nirvahaṇa,* he regales the audience for several days with his wit and satire making a parody of the four *Puruṣārthas* (aims of life) reciting the verses in Sanskrit, Prākrit and finally giving detailed explanation in straight speech in Malayālam.[5] He uses *Āṅgika* in the *Lokadharmi* (natural) way, but essentially he uses his voice to express the *Bhāva.*

(We may make it clear that the Vidūṣaka's *nirvahaṇa* is different from that of Rāma, Vidūṣaka digresses and deviates from the main story to entertain the audience with humour and satirises on the evils of the social and political system prevailing not only then but even now through the parody of the Puruṣārthas which were the accepted aims of life of a person).

Śūrpaṇakhā speaks in Malayālam and makes queer noises to draw laughter. But when she assumes the form of Lalithā—the beautiful one—(this part is taken by a nāṅṅyār), she " sings " her verses in Sanskrit in the prescribed *swaras.*

Udātta (exalted) characters, such as Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Udayana and even a character like Rāvaṇa, render the prose dialogues of the texts in highly stylized recitational speech with *Hastābhinaya* (hand gestures) and facial expressions. But the verses are "sung" in suitable swaras either by the characters who are physically not present, but whose words need to be " sung " for the sake of the continuity of the action. The verses " sung " by the characters themselves are interpreted in *Āṅgika-Abhinaya* in three different ways : first it is broadly rendered in *Abhinaya,* next it is " sung " in a slow, deliberate manner in a high pitched deep tone, each word uttered distinctly so that each word can be interpreted in *Āṅgika,* and finally involving elaboration and improvisation of the key words and ideas suggested by them as we have already noted earlier.

In the enactment of the act proper during which other characters are also present on the stage, the actual text of the play is enacted. But here too elaboration of the *Āṅgika-Abhinaya* is resorted to with the result that even the staging of this one act takes a whole night. This makes Kūṭiyāṭṭam a strongly *Āṅgika-Abhinaya-based Nāṭya* form—an actor's art par excellence.

Training :—The training for this *Āṅgika-Abhinaya* is very ardous. The actor is required to have great mastery over the various limbs of the face, eyelids, eyeballs etc., and other parts of the body—neck, arms, wrists, fingers, waist shoulders, and feet—to be able to move at will and with great ease. Hands and finger movements were codified to create gestures—language which greatly reduced the dependence on speech. Thus, the entire body was tuned to evoke *Rasa* in the spectator. The *cākyār* has to undergo the training for years together and even then he could only be said to have learnt the basic lessons. To become a master, he has to acquire many more years of experience and cultivate his power of imagination which is vital for an actor. The *cākyār* begins at an early age and is grilled and groomed for years in a hard and exacting training. He slowly and steadily learns the four forms of *Abhinayas*, *Āṅgika* (the expression) through the face and other limbs of the body), *Vācika* (speech), *Sāttvika* (involuntary external manifestations resulting from the identification with the character), and *Āhārya* (costume, make-up and props). He acquires over the years mastery that makes him worthy of the portrayal of the godly heroes and the noble kings and the demons of immense power. The actor also gets a long training in speech as well as make-up and costuming.

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[5] We may note that the use of the local language was permitted by the Nāṭyaśāstra. It says, " as the plays will be produced in different regions, local dialects may be used in the play by Producers "—(XVIII-46).

SĀTTVIKA :—*Sāttvika Abhinaya* is the most difficult of all the *Abhinayas*—for it cannot be taught as it can only be expressed by the actor by identifying himself with his character. This involves not only a perfect training in the use of his limbs, but also of developing his imagination which he alone can do.

It is communicated by the subtle movements of the eyes, eye brows, eyelids, cheeks and lips and by the physical involuntary reactions like shedding of tears, perspiration, horripilation etc., by characters like Rāma, Arjuna and others and which are invariably conveyed to the sensitive spectator. In Śūrpaṇakhāaṅkam when Rāma sees the *Parṇakūti* (hut) built by Lakṣmaṇa for their residing in Pañchavaṭi on the banks of the river Godāvari, he communicates his sense of wonder (Adbhuta) at the skill of his brother who has built it with such exquisite beauty. He conveys this through his eyes and facial expressions, standing still in a characteristic pose. In *Subhadrādhanañjayam* (Act I) Arjuna who is on a pilgrimage arrives at an *Āśrama*. Here the entire description of the *Āśrama* is conveyed through the movement of the limbs of the face alone-the burning of sacred fire and the moths playing with its flames without getting burnt, a small deer suckling the milk from a she-leopard, a snake inducing a mongoose to sleep, and so on. His eyes move from scene to scene and convey the sense of wonder and prevailing peace pervading the sacred *Āśrama*. Rāvaṇa when he sees for the first time the great Kailāśa the abode of Śiva and Pārvatī, expresses his immense sense of woder through the *Sāttvika Abhinaya*.

Āhārya-I (*Make-Up*) : The make-up in Kūṭiyāṭṭam is mainly *Nāṭyadharmi*-highly stylized, though some characters do have *Lokadharmi* type. The main characters are broadly classified into three types. The *Sāttvika* representing the noble and dignified characters having good and virtuous qualities, the *Rājasīka*, who are greedy and vain and the *Tāmasika*, who are evil and of destructive nature. There are intervening types with one or the other quality predominating them.

The different types of make-up are: *paccs* (green type), *paluppu* (red type), *minukku* (reddish-yellow type-fair), *kari* (black), *katti* (knife type), *taṭi* (white, red and black beard type) and *ninam* (blood-dripping type).

Noble characters such as Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa Arjuna and even Duryodhana (Bhāsa depicts him in a different light than the evil king of the Kauravas shown in the Epic) etc., have green make-up. The "*cutti*" a ridge formed on the jaw-line up to the ears is a necessary and distinguishing feature of this make-up.

The *cutti* is made on the face by applying rice paste, mixed with lime-wate and is applied layer after layer with a stick till the required size creates a mask-like enlargement of the face to impart it a larger-than-life appearance.

Make-up of Jimūtavāhana (in Nāgānand) and Saṁvaraṇa (in Tapati-Saṁvaraṇa) is paluppu (red). In this type of make-up the face is painted red and has no cutti. But a black line is used to delineate the colours of the face.

There are three varieties of the *taṭi* type. The *vellattaṭi*, the *cuvanna-taṭ* and the *karutta-taṭi*, Hanumān wears a white beard and therefore is called a *vellattaṭi* (white-beard) character. The beard is made by sticking cotton o the face. His face is coloured red and black and his hands and feet are mad up white. Vāli, the king of Vānaras, has red beard (*cuvanna taṭi*) type, and th face is made up with red, black and green colours—the last colour helps in modifying the evil qualities in him and makes him less ferocious and of rathe gentle manners. Sugrīva, his brother, wears a black beard (*karutta-taṭi*) an the colour of the face is black and red. Vāli has small cotton balls on th forehead and nose-tip. The beards of the last two characters are made fro jute fibre.

Rāvaṇa, the demon king of Laṅkā, is a *katti* type (knife-type), as tw white knife like designs are painted on the face. The colours used for make-u are white, red, and black and also has a *cutti*. He also has white cotton-ball on the face. His sister Śūrpaṇakhā smears the body as well as the face wit black. In the dual, Laksmaṇa cuts off "her" breasts and nose, and she ente in *ninam* (blood-dripping) make-up towards the end of the act. It is a example of the grotesque of the *Lokadharmi* type of make-up which *Bharata* ha mentioned. (NŚ XIII, 48-54).

The *minukku* make-up is used by women characters such as Lalit (in Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi), Subharda in (Subhadrā-Dhanañjayam) and Malayava (in Nāgānand). This is a simple type of make-up of a pale reddish-yellow ton

Vidūṣaka has white make-up and on his body and arms are marked whi lines and big red dots on cheeks, arms, chest, forehead and chin and his le are painted white. There is another type of Vidūṣaka, e.g. Mantrāṅka (in Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa) whose make-up and costume are different.

There are many small but significant details which distinguish the various characters. All characters use black collirium to emphasize the eyes and in varying thickness depending upon the type of make-up. The lips are reddened but in the *paḷuppu* type, they are yellowish, and in all cases they are given a definite shape and enlarged to harmonize with the general make-up and costume. This broad description will show that there are two types of make-up. In the first, the colours are used in *Lokaḍharmi* manner as the popular belief associates certain colours with certain types of characters. These characters wear beard and hair made of jute fibres and have something to do with their " habitation, birth, or age ". But the gods and godly beings are the heroes and therefore their *Āhārya* has to be exaggerated to make them look very different from the ordinary mortals and to be readily recognizable from a distance in the dim light of the lamps or maśāls (torches made of wooden sticks with rags wrapped round them which are oiled and lighted). This is purely *Nāṭyaḍharmi* make-up.

ĀHĀRYA, II-(COSTUME):—The costumes, ornaments and the head-gear of the heroes are again highly conventional—of the *Nāṭyaḍharmi* type. Male upper costume consists usually of a fullsleeved brick-red jacket with broad black horizontal stripes, with a white, red-bordered cloth (*paītakam*) tucked below the waist in such a manner as to leave its two ends hanging in front. On the hips, at the back side, a frilled bunch of cloth (*pṛṣṭham*) is tied to give a broadness to balance with the elements of the costumes and the make-up. Two long twisted pieces of cloth one white, one red, are hung from the neck with lotus-shaped ends (*Uttariya*).

Over these are worn various ornaments on shoulders, wrists, ears, cross-belts (*channauram*), necklaces and a girdle (*kaṭisūtram*). Vidūṣaka in Mantrāṅkam, wears a necklace of spiral-shaped conchshells.

(*piriśaṅkhin-mālā*).

Women characters wear almost similar ornaments except the *channauram* (chest-ornament).

The head-gear worn by the kings such as Udayana, Duryodhana, Rāvaṇa, etc., is called the " *keśa-bhāram kīriṭam* ", and consists of two parts : the pagoda-like crown—*kīriṭam* and a large halo-like decorative disc—*keśabhāram* behind it. Another kind of headgear worn by Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Arjuna etc., who are not crowned kings or are in exile, is called *vāsikam* and consists of a semi-circular broad golden piece over the hair line with a large disc with peacock feathers on it, topped by another large circular disc. Women characters like Lalithā, Subhadrā etc. wear a crown (*muṭi*) and long jute hair. Śūrpaṇakhā has a short lower garment over a bare body and false breasts (the part is played by a male), ear-ornaments and a head-gear made out of grass on the day of the performance.

Vidūṣaka wears a typical striped cloth cap with a long tassel. Hanuman's costume and head-gear are white. Though the costumes of the heroes are highly conventional, (*Nāṭyaḍharmi*), there are many characters whose costumes are of *Lokadharami* type and some are temporarily made as in the case of Śūrpaṇakhā or Yaugandharāyaṇa. It would indeed be an almost impossible task to determine all styles of costumes, as these acts are staged once a year only and it would take years to fully aquaint oneself with them. And as time passes on, they tend to change.

These costumes, ornaments, head-gear and make-up lend great dignity and splendour and add to the physical stature of the characters so necessary to portray historical or mythological heroes featured in the plays. These elements are standardized to fit into the popular imagination. Whether these costumes, ornaments and make-up were influenced at a later stage as some of the other elements of kuṭiyāṭṭam or the *cākyārs* were following the *Dākṣinātyā Pravṛtti* as said by Bharata in these matters, we cannot say. But what we can reasonably emphasize is that their only source of inspiration could have been the Nāṭyaśāstra on which the classical drama based its *Āhārya*.

Āhārya-III-Properties :—On this bare platform stage few properties are used, such as a bow and arrow (in Subhadrā-Dhanañjayam), a sword (Śūrpaṇakhā-Añkam), a "*kāvad*" (Bhagawadajjukam), a begging bowl (Mattavilāsam), one or two *Piṭhams* (seats) and a huge staff (Mantrānkam). The use of sword instead of the traditional bow and arrow by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa is to meet the regional requirements, for in this Southern version of the Rāmāyaṇa, Lakṣmaṇa cuts off not only the nose but also the breasts of Śūrpaṇakhā. Arjuna enters with a bow and arrow. And Śāṇḍilya comes with a *kāvad*, while the *Kāpālika* in the Mattavilāsa enters with a begging bowl.

Music : The music is an integral part of Kūṭiyāṭṭam performance as it was in the classical Sanskrit theatre. It consists of the vocal as well as the orchestral. The vocal part is restricted to the " singing " the various verses of the texts now and then as required, as noted earlier. It is more like chanting and resembles perhaps to the chanting of the Sama Vedas in Kerala.

Various "*swaras*" and *Tālas* are used in the projection of the various emotional states and situations, the time of the day, the seasons, the end of an act and also to suit the status of a character as prescribed by Bharata.

The orchestral music consists of two oval-shaped large copper drums, *mizhavu-s*, narrow-mouthed and rather pointed at the bottom and the covered with leather and are played with both hands. Large sturdy wooden frames are used to hold them and the *Nampiyārs* sit behind them while playing. Other percussion instrument is the *iṭakkā* (an hour-glass shaped small instrument like the *Ḍamaru*) played with a stick ; *kuzhālg* is a small *nāgaswaram*-type of instrument played in the temples of Kerala. *Śaṅkha* (large conch) is another wind instrument used particularly at the entry of a character like Rāma, who is considered to be of divine origin. *kuzhi-tālam* (cymbals) are used by *nāṅṅyārs* to keep *tāla* during the performance. No string instrument is used. Thus only three of the four types of instruments described by Bharata are used. Here again, though the use of music for dramatic purpose is borrowed from the Nāṭyaśāstra, the instruments and the " *swaras* " and *Tālas* have been adapted to suit the regional requirement as per *Dākṣiṇātyā Pravrītti*, perhaps.

Other conventions :—There are several other conventions of the classical stage that have been used in the Kūṭiyāṭṭam, such, as, the sounds from the *Nepathya* (dressing room), *Ākāśabhāṣita* (speaking to a character in absentia), *Parikrama* (moving about the stage to show distance and change of locale), *Swagata* (speaking to oneself—thinking aloud), *Prakāśa* (speaking aloud) and simultaneous scenes and asides, etc.

In Śūrpaṇakhā-aṅkam, the action which takes place in *Pañcavaṭī*, where Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣamaṇa had stayed during their exile, in confrontation with the demonness Śūrpaṇakhā and the resulting dual between her and Lakṣamaṇa, she carries him off in the sky. After a while a loud thud is heard by Rāma and Sītā and they apprehend a terrible disaster. This sound is made in the *Nepathya*. Rāma speaks to Sītā even when she is never present on the stage throughout the staging of the act. On the request of Lakṣamaṇa, Rama goes to inspect the *Parṇakūṭi* (hut) and he walks in rhythmatic zig-zag steps to indicate the traversing of the distance to reach the place (*Parikrama*). When Śūrpaṇakhā in the guise of Lalithā at the instance of Rāma approaches Laksamaṇa, he wonders, who this beautiful maiden, could be (Swagata). Then when she comes to him, he speaks to her aloud to ask who she is and where she comes from (*Prakāśa*) etc.

Regional influence :—All these various aspects of Kūṭiyāṭṭam show that it is highly sophisticated art with direct links with the classical Sanskrit Theatre. Whatever it has taken from the classical tradition particularly in the *Āṅgikā*, *Vācika*, the *Sattvik* and *Āhārya*—and certain other conventions—in the manner of using music and some others mentioned above, Kūṭiyāṭṭam seems to have retained these in their essential character. This is not to deny that some modifications in technique may have taken place. The hand gestures used may not be exactly the same, as described by the Nāṭyaśāstra (it needs a deeper and specialized investigation) as they are said to be based on a manual called the Hastalakśaṇa-dīpikā. Other changes in the " *swaras* " and *Tālas* also might have taken place. But what has been attempted here is to show that despite these, the essential character of the classical Sanskrit tradition, the essence of the style of the staging of plays still seems to be intact in Kūṭiyāṭṭam. The manner of using these elements, the great dignity with which they are used, their remoteness from other traditional forms, give one a reasonable belief that the essence belongs to the classical tradition as seen in the Nāṭyaśāstra, and perhaps is a continuation of the Dākṣiṇātyā Pravṛītti.

Some of those elements and the convention of *nirvahaṇa* adopted in Kūṭiyāṭṭam to suit the local regional compulsions give its present form a local flavour. This was inevitable. Such regional methods of staging the Sanskrit drama are known to have been in existence from the 9th century onwards. Kūṭṭanīmatam of Damodargupta (9th Cen. A.D.) describes the staging of an act of Ratnāvalī of Harṣa in Vārānasī, which shows the local method of staging these plays, and that, how the classical tradition was adapted to suit changed times. Kūṭiyāṭṭam was only one more such attempt made by king Kulaśekharvarman and his minister Tolan in the late 9th or early 10th century A.D. The Perumāḷ (ruler) with his scholar—minister is said to have " revived " interest in the Sanskrit drama and carried out certain reforms to make it popular among the people, such as " the introduction of the local language by the Vidūṣaka to explain the Sanskrit and Prākrit passages. The addition of the humorous element caricaturing the four *Puruṣārthas*, confining of the staging of the Sanskrit plays as a temple art to be performed exclusively by the *cākyār* and the *nampiyār* community and pointing out, in detail, the procedure for acting many of the popular plays of the time."

As the common people did not understand Sanskrit, it had become necessary to lay emphasis on the use of the local language and modify some other elements to bring the classical plays nearer to the people ; the costume and the make-up had to be standardized and music along with *Tālas* had to be localized. Though in the Vācika, the Sanskrit and Prākrit dialogues were retained in the staging of the act proper, the local language was introduced to explain them and thus get over the language barrier and the role of *Āṅgika* was enlarged to impart it a greater visual appeal. The part of the Vidūṣaka was greatly exaggerated as a concession to the common man. And a sanctity was imparted to the plays by confining their staging in the temple theatre. A continuity was sought to be ensured in the staging of the plays by making the *cākyārs* and the *nampiyārs* solely responsible for their staging, and finally, manuals were written for the reference of the *cākyārs* who could refer to them for their technique and draw their inspiration from them.

These reference books of the *cākyārs* are called the *Kramadipikās* and the *Āṭṭaprakāras*. The former explain in great detail the prodedure to be adopted by them in staging the plays (*Kṛama*). The latter provide them with the reference material in the form of stories etc., from the various sources for their *Abhinaya*.

NĀṬYA-MANḌPA :—As the regional methods of staging the classical plays came into being, the stage form also was naturally adapted to suit the changed requirement. And what better place for erecting such new theatres there could be than the huge temple complexes which were by now the centres of community activity, religious as well as secular ?

Kūttampalam, the temple-theatre of Kerala, in which Kūṭiyāṭṭam and other forms of the *Kūttu* are staged was the new regional theatre form that came into being to meet the changed needs. It seems to be a simplified version of the stage described in the Nāṭyaśāstra (Ch. II). It can reasonably be assumed that the Kūttampalams that have come down to us in their present form may have been based on the original forms that came into existence in the time of Kulaśekharvarman around the 9th cent. Though one or two of the Kūttampalams existing now may not be more than five centuries old, there is an inscription in a certain temple relating to drama and also there are architectural remains of an *adhiṣṭhāna* of c. 12th century to show their antiquity. As they are, they confirm to the constructional details described in the Tantrasamuccaya and the Śilparatna, 15th and 16th century manuals respectively, on architecture which themselves must have drawn this inspiration from the older texts.

Some of the Kūtttampalams are exquisite examples of architectural art. The brackets supporting the caves, the pillars, the beams and the ceilings of the stage pavilions are carved with various motifs-*Vyālas* (mythical creatures), gods and goddesses, *Deep-kanyās* (women holding lamps), *Kapotas* (pigeons), lotuses etc., and show the love that was lavished on these theatres.

The Kūttampalam, like the Kūtiyāṭṭam shows its links with the classical theatre and also reflects the changed times. It is rectangular in shape like Bharata's *Vikriṭṣa-Madhya* (rectangular middle) type of theatre, but its architecture naturally confirms to the typical local architecture of Kerala. It is constructed in the immense courtyard, which is a characteristic feature of the southern temples. Its ridged roof is the most dominating element and it is copper-plated or tiled to protect it from the torrential rains of Kerala. It is topped by three ornate gold Kalaśas (pitchers). The entire structure stands on a stone pedestal- *Adhiṣṭhān*a. From inside, its dominating roof and its shape give the impression of a " cave-like " (Śailaguhākāra) structure as described by Bharata. On the *Adhiṣṭhāna* stands the trellis wooden frame-work joined to the first and the smallest row of pillars supporting the roof. This trellis framework serves as the " wall " of the theatre. Three, or in larger Kūttampalams four doors are cut in this " wall "—two for the audience and the other for the actors ; one behind the *Nepathya*, and other opposite the stage to be used during staging of the plays when required (Śūrpaṇakhā enters through this door in her ' niṇam ' -blood-dripping make-up).

The stage is roughly twelve to twenty feet square depending upon the size of the Kūttampalam- and is raised about a foot or so from the auditorium floor. On the four corners of the stage-platform there are, usually one and in one case at least (at Trichur), three pillars in each one of them. In a few Kūttampalams, the stage extends by a few inches beyond the pillars on either side as at Kiṭangur perhaps the oldest and the most elegent Kūttampalam-which reminds one of being a remnants of the *Mattavāraṇīs* of Bharata's stage. (see Sangeet Nāṭaka No. 34). These pillars support the canopy above the stage, the practical use of which, it seems, is to conserve the sound, apart from its ritualistic purpose, as beautiful images of gods and goddesses are carved under its ceiling, usually of the *Aṣṭa-dikpālas* (guardians of the eight Directions), with Brahmā in the centre.[6] The back wall of the stage has two doors (as in NŚ) the one to the actor's left for his entry and the other on his right for the exit (Bharata has mentioned this particular manner of using the doors in XIV-52, for the *Āvanti* and the *Dākṣinātyā* local usages).

Behind this wall is the *Nepathya* which is rather small but large enough to meet the needs of a small cast which is rarely of more than three or four. The level of the *Nepathya* is lower than the stage as the word *Nepathya* at times is interpreted.

Between these stage doors sit the two *mizhāvu* players and the *Kuzhāl* and *itakkā* players stand to their left. The *nāṅṅyārs* sit on the stage floor to the right side of the *mizhavu* players and at right angles to them. The sitting arrangement of the musicians and their respective positions, and their fuction again, reflect the arrangement prescribed by the Nāṭyaśāstra-(XXXI-221).

In front of the stage is a raised level in large Kūttampalams which was reserved in the by-gone days for the *Brāhmaṇa* (and the kings) who dominated the social, religious, political and the cultural life of Kerala, but no distinction is observed now.

Stage-Equipment :—Yavanikā (a small red curtain) is the most dramatic element used on the Kūttampalam stage. It is brought on the stage held by two persons. Behind it are performed the *Pūrvaraṅga* (preliminaries) called the *nitya-kriyās*, and this again reminds one of Bharata. Behind it also are made the first dramatic entries among the sounding of the *Śaṅkha* and the fanfare of the musical instruments (compare the stage directions of the plays—"*Tataḥ Praviśati*" etc.), and also the entries made " seated " " (*Tataḥ Praviśatī Āsanasthaḥ.* ")

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[6] The position of god Brahmā corresponds to the centre of the stage. NŚ. calls it *Brāhma- maṇḍala-* (NŚ. III, 23-30. V, 74) which was in the centre of the stage floor.

Some exists are also made behind it. (The classicai Sanskrit theatre made extensive use of this flexible and other two fixed types of curtains to meet its more complicated requirements. See " Curtain in the Classical Sanskrit Theatre ", Sangeet Nāṭaka-25).

On the day of the performance held at a few places in Kerala, the stage is decorated with plantain leaves and fruits and its tender shoots, and a pot full of rice and other auspicious things are placed on the stage. The lighting is provided by a big bell-metal lamp placed in the centre of the front of the stage. In its triple flames the faces of the actors gleam with "*ghee*"-based make-up and their ornament and head-gear emit a gentle glow as their expression breathe life in the atmosphere. The ancient heroes and godly beings come alive for a brief while.

The Future :—For several nights the Kūttampalam has been humming with activity, and fills the temple atmosphere with the reverberating rhythm of the musical instruments and the chanting of the remote *ślokas.* Then suddenly all is quiet again. This yearly activity will go on for perhaps a few years or a decade more. The values of the people are changing fast. There is no livelihood for the actors in this theatre, and even the temple lands from which they were getting their meagre sustenance are no longer available to them. The brilliant *cākyārs* and the ancient theatre, the last vestiges of the glorious Sanskrit theatre that entertained and instructed the people for over a thousand years might be wiped out and the *Yavanikā* might be drawn over the tragic scene for over, unless some serious effort is made by the Academies, by the State and by the people to sustain it. If the Noh in Japan and the Peking Opera in China can be revived and revitalized, why not the Kūtiyāṭṭam in India ?—Unless, of course we are insensitive to our cultural heritage.

One question might arise : some of these elements and conventions are based on the Nāṭyaśāstra. Are these also not used by other traditional forms of India ? If so, how can Kūṭiyāṭṭam alone claim to be the sole inheritor of the classical tradition ? All the traditional forms certainly use several of these elements and conventions but none can claim the antiquity going back to a thousand years and even then what Kulaśekharavarman and Tolan are said to have done then was to revive the interest in and reform the classical tradition then existing. Secondly, it is the only form that still uses the actual texts of the classical plays for its staging. Some other forms such as the Ankiā Nāt of Assam, and the Kuchipudi of Andhra Pradesh do use Sanskrit *Ślokas*, but these are not from the classical plays. These and other traditional forms came into being sometime during and after the 15th cent, and they all use plays, written in their local languages by their ' originators ' and others. And none of them is staged in a permanent theatre specially built for the purpose.

With all this one cannot help remarking that the Kūṭiyāṭṭam performance does need to be prunned. Some of its elements could be curtailed or dispensed with such as the *nirvahaṇa* of the various characters, and of the Vidūṣaka which take several days, as also perhaps the improvisations indulged in at great length could be curtailed.

In the present tension-ridden times, people do not have time and patience to sit through the performances of several hours for several nights. This abridged version would shorten the time of performances and may enable the *cākyārs* to stage more acts of the same play or some other acts of other plays and this would be interesting from the point of the audience. And with shortened performances, the *cākyārs* could go from one place to another, thus giving the audience a better chance of seeing new plays and by a new group of actors. This needs serious thought on the part of the few surviving families of the *cākyārs*, the *nampiyārs* and *nāṅṅyārs* and the scholars of Kerala and others who feel concerned over the fate of Kūṭiyāṭṭam.

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THE ORIGIN OF THE 'JĀṬAS'[1]

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The Jāṭas practically belong to the second and the third *Varṇa*s i.e. the *Kṣatriya* and the *Vaiśya*s whose traditional avocation it was to protect the first of the *Varṇa*s along with their counter-parts and the third of the *Varṇa*s against injury[2] and to work in a corporation or a settlement respectively. Viś[3] is the typical expression employed in the Vedas ragarding the third *Varṇa*. *Daṇḍa-nīt* *Vārttā* i.e. application of the practical aspects of the science of polity and Agriculture along with Economics formed the main principles that goverened the routine life of these two *Varṇa*s from where practically the jāṭas of the species of *Ābhīras*—(Modern Ahirs) took their genesis.

Janmans seem to have corresponded to a village consisting of the people claiming a common descent and a number of such villages joined together by a bond of kinship, seem to have constituted a Viś; its chief was known as a Viśpati. Viśes were closely knit together, and on the battle-fields battalians were often arranged as per the Viś from which they had been recruited (RV. X. 84.4) Several Viśes made a Jana or tribe which had its own Janapati or the king (State and Govt. in Ancient India, pp. 30-31.)

It appears from Dr. Altekar's remarks that *Jammans*, Viśes and Janas represented the three orders of society which later on took the shape of dvi-Janmans, Viśes and Rājanyas, or took the appellations of Dvijas, Rājanyas and Viśes through phonetic amalgamation and derivatives. Viśes were representatives of the third order as is evident from the expressions Brahma, Kṣatra (rājanya) and Viś (*Yajurveda* IX. 40. p. 135. Devi Chand) the last one translated as the people (Vaiśyas) who according to Dr. Altekar were the instrument o paying heavy taxes and were engaged in the productive professions of Agriculture, trade and Cattle-rearing." A. Br. VII. 29. S. Br. XI. 26. 14) (State and Govt. in Ancient India p. 257.)

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[1] Sh. Giriśa Chandra Dwivedi has given an interesting dissertation on the subject in JIH, August, 1970, Vol. 43, pt. ii, pp. 377-398. An effort is being made here to improve upon the views of the learned scholar.

[2] Kṣatātkila trāyata ityudagraḥ kṣattrasya śabdo bhuvaneṣu rūḍhaḥ-*Raghuvaṁśa* II 53.

[3] Viś—A settlement, a household, a community tribe, a race, a man of the third-caste In *Ṛgveda*, *Atharvaveda*, *Taittiryia Saṁhiitā*-Viśpatis were called Merchants.—Sir Monier Willia *Sans. Eng. Dictionary*. Viśi-bhavo Viś vaiśyo Vāsi-those who were born in a corporation or settlement were Viśes or Vaiśyas—people in general. According to Dr. A. S. Altekar :—

The Ṛgvedic evidence shows that Aryan society in that early period was divided in families, Janmans, viśes and Jaṇas.

Sh. Girīśa Chandra Dvivedi has examined the entire stock of evidence available at hand and tried to prove the origin of the Jāṭas as striking his sense of Judgement. He has refuted the theory of Indo-Scythian pedigree. He has also not agreed with the legendary origin of the Jāṭas from Paraśurāma who was requested by the women of the defunct Kṣtriyas to sow his seeds in their wombs giving thereby the birth to sons-called Jaṭharas who have been described as members of an Indian Janapada.[4] Yādavas getting the name Jāṭas after the death of the emperor Yāṭa (most probably Yayāti) also seems fantastic. The Gurjara-Rājapūta Union bearing Jāṭas as their off-springs also lacks historicity and corroborative evidence.

Sh. Dvivedi has quoted C. V. Vaidya who has identified Jāṭas with the Jarittakas of the *Mahābhārata*. They were the residents of the vicinity of Śākala. Karṇa describes them as most wicked and detestable barbarians.

But an examination of the Mahābhārata[5] shows the word 'Jarttika', and not Jarittaka as the correct one occurring in the Epic throughout. It was a tribe of the Vāhīkas whose conduct has been described as most abominable. Jarttikāḥ can give '*Jaṭṭa āḥ*' in Prākṛta wherefrom the words *Jāṭāḥ*, *Jaṭṭā*, *Jaṭṭa*, *Jāṭa*, can be the obvious derivatives. In this verse, Śākala has been named as a town, āpagā as a stream, Jarttikās have been called as the inhabitants of Vāhīka whose conduct is exposed to great opprobrium. Their food has been described as cereal-corns (*dhānāḥ*), the liquor extracted from mollasses (*Guḍa*) and beef seasoned with garlic. They were consumers of the lumps of meat-cakes and were reft of all virtuosity. Their ladies sang and danced intoxicated and stripped of clothes, on the outskirts of the town, chambers and contravallations, wearing garlands and painted with fragrant unguents.[6] Along with the Jarttikas the ladies of the Vrātyas have been associated with Kurujāṅgala who sang hilariously in festivals.[7] Vāhīkas have also been called Duṣṭas or lecherous beings who also have been shown as having social contact with the (Vrātyas) in Kurujāṅgala.[8] Having crossed the rivers Śatadrukā and grāvatī i.e. Sutlej and Rāvi,

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[4] *Mahābhārata Bhiṣmaparvan* IX. 42, p. 307 Gitā Press ed. Khaṇḍa II.

[5] Śākalaṁ nāma nagaraṁāpagā nāma nimnagā.
Jarttikāḥ nāma Vāhīkāḥ teṣāṁ Vṛttaṁ.
Suninditaṁ *Ibid*. *Kaṇaparva*, 44. 10, p. 61. Khaṇḍa III.

[6] Dhānā gauḍyāsavaṁ pitvā gomāṁsaṁ laśunaiḥ saha.
apūpamāṁsavātyānāmāśināḥ śīlavarjitāḥ.
gāyantyatha ca nṛtyanti striyo mattāḥ vivāsasaḥ.
nagarāgāravapreṣu bahirmālyānulepanāḥ. Ibid., 44. 11, p. 61.

[7] Ākrośantyaḥ pranṛtyanti vrātyāḥ parvasvasaṁyatāḥ—Ibid. 44, 15, p. 61.

[8] Ibid., 44. 16-17, p. 61.

Karṇa has been described as eager to see his own women of virtuous conduct, comely in complexion, clad in spruce garments and taking to dance and song to the accompaniment of the musical instruments.[9]

This character-contrast delineated between the Vāhīka-Jarttika-Vrātya ladies and those of the region on the other side of the Sutlej and Rāvi (Modern East Punjab) can easily convince one of the fact that the Jarttikas of Vāhīka (the region beyond Sutlej and Rāvi (*i.e.* Madra Janapada)[10] had their social contact with the Vrātyas[11] who lay beyond the pale of the Aryan Culture, which under normal circumstances prohibited beef-eating as is evident from the prayers seeking the protection of the cow in the four Vedas[12] followed by later literature[13] (as postulated by Dr. Paramānanda in his article on 'Ban on Cow-slaughter' in '*The Tribune*' a decade ago). The protection of the cow is equally emphasised in Atharvaveda III. 30, VI. 67, 73, 74, 94, 123 and VII. 52, 94 where again she is eulogized as 'Aghnī' the innocent one (Lit 'one not fit to be killed') etc. Being abhorred by the Aryans, how could Jarttikas be the progenitors of the modern 'Jāṭas' in-habitting the modern Haryana (the Stronghold of Ahirs *i.e.* Ābhīras in ancient literature), Rājasthāna, Uttarapradeśa etc. (Strongholds of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras) ? These regions were inhabited in large numbers by the Jāṭas who are not that much uncivilized as the Jarttikas of Vāhīka though some among them may violate the laws of the civilized society. Regarding the phonetic evolution Jarttikas do stand in apposition to the theory as such. (*Vivāsaḥ*) can also be construed to mean (attired in specific garments or costumes—*Viśiṣṭāni Vāsāṁsi Yāsāṁ tāḥ*). But '*Vṛttaṁ Suninditaṁ*' associated, with '*Śīlavarjitāḥ*', '*gomāṁsaṁ laśunaiḥ saha*' goes in favour of '*Virahitāni vāsāṁsi Yāsāṁ tāḥ*' etc.

Hence Jarttikas being Vāhīkas and having social inter-course with the Vrātyas taking beef with gralic and cereals or barley etc. stand little chance of being the progenitors of the Jāṭas even through the linguistic derivation from Jarttika to Jaṭṭa and Jāṭa strikes as most logical. Even Dr. D. C. Sircar while dilating upon Vāhlīka, Vāhīka and Gurjara[14], takes. 'Jārttika' as the word in place of 'Jārttika' quoted from his own available text of the *Mahābhārata* and says—

"The Madraka or Madra people lived in the land around Śākala (Modern Sialkot) while the Jarttikas are the modern Jāṭs."

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[9] Śatadrukāmahaṁ tīrtvā tāṁ ca ramyāmirāivatīṁ.
gatvā svadeśaṁ drakṣyāmi sthūlaśaṅkhāḥ śubhāḥ striyaḥ Ibid. 44. 17-18, p, 61.

[10] Having Śākala for their capital.

[11] *Atharvaveda*, *Kāṇḍa* XV.

[12] RV X 87-16, X 85; AV XIX. 48, XVIII. 4, VIII. 6. 23, V. 29. 11, VIII. 3. 18, V. 29. 10; *Yajurveda* XXXVI. 18; *Sāmaveda* (80),

[13] *Ś. Br.*, VI. 2; Taitt. Br., I. 1. 9-7, 8; *Tāṇḍya, M. Br.* XVIII ; *Manusmṛti* II. 117.

[14] *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, 8, p. 237-238.

" Sh. Giriśa Candra Dvivedi's employment of term 'Jarittaka' seems to be a mistaken expression for 'Jarttika', which occurs uniformly in the *Mahābhārata* as also in the Dictionaries.[15]

Qanungo's contention that Jāṭas could be identified with the Jātas or 'Sujātas', a branch of the Haihayayādavas, has been accepted by Sh. Dwivedi[16] as the most suitable source of derivation. Mahābhārata[17] considers Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas having been extirpated by Sagara of the Ikṣvāku race who created Rājanyas i.e. Kṣatriyas out of the spoils of these. Viṣṇu Purāṇa[18] considers Haihay-as the descendants of Yadu wherein flourished Kārtta-Vīrya (Arjuna) whose chivalry and bounty could not be matched by any king. Sir

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[15] Sir Monier William and V. S. Apte.

According to Dr. V. C. Pandey—

It is true vāhīka originally denoted a region or people around the Beas. This is corroborated by a verse in the Rāmāyaṇa. But later it came to denote the greater part of Panjab.

With the passage of time, the centre of political gravity shifted from the Sapta-saindhava region to the Brahmāvartta region. This accounts for why the Vāhīka country was culturally looked down upon during the Mahābhārata age. It lay beyond Kurukṣetra and was outside the pale of Aryan Civilization. It encompassed the whole region watered by the Indus and its five tributaries. Though Madrarāja Śalya has been called a vāhīka, yet the Mahābhārata deposes that the Vāhīka country included several other kingdoms also. Proceeding from Haryana one had to cross only the Śatadru (Satluj) the most easternly river of the Panjab and not all the seven rivers to step into the Vāhīka region. "

Expatiating further on the line " tīrtvā Saptamukhāṁ yena Samare Sindhor-jītāḥ Vāhlīkāḥ ", of the Mehrauli Iron Pillar in SC. of candra, Dr. Pandey remarks that "it is better to take the word 'Sindhu' in the sense of the sea. As the sea is fed with the waters of the rivers, the latter may well be called its 'mukhāṁ' (feeders). The Mahābhārata refers to these seven feeders of the sea on the eastern side of the Vāhlika country i.e. in Madhyadeśa. They are (1) The Gaṅgā, (2) The Yamunā, (3) Sarasvatī, (4) The Rathasthā (Rāmagaṅgā), (5) The Sarayu, (6) The Gomati and (7) The Gaṇḍaka.

Viśveśva-ānanda Indological Journal, Vol. XII. Numbers 1 and 2, March and Sept. 1974, pp. 243, 244, 245.

It implies from the statement of Dr. Pandey that vāhīka or vāhlīka was Madhyadeśa having seven feeders of the sea named above.

The " Jarttikāḥ nāma vāhikāḥ " may refer to the people abiding in the Madhyadeśa. which might have had its boundaries expanded as far as Śākala in the times of Mahābhārata.

But as postulated by Dr. Pandey (p. 243) that Mahābhārata calls Śalya as vāhīka and his sister Mādrī as Vāhlīki, it automatically implies a contradiction that to be Vāhīka was not a defamation, only Jarttikas of vāhīka affording 'Jaṭṭa' as a derivative, could be abominable.

[16] JIH, 48.2, August 1970, p. 380.

[17] Vanaparvan 106, 7, 8, p. 538, part I, Gitā Press edition.
Ikṣvākūṇāṁ Kule Jātaḥ sagaro nāma pārthivaḥ, rūpasattvabalopetaḥ saḥ cāputraḥ pratāpavān.
Saḥ haihayān samutsādya tālajaṅghāṁśca Bhārata
vaśe ca kṛtvār-ājanyān svarājyamanva śāsata.

[18] IV. II. 4-10. snf 16, p. 324-25.

Monier William takes them as a race said to have been sprung from Yadu who separated into five divisions viz. The Talajaṅghas, Vītihotras, Āvantyas, Tuṇḍikaras and Jātas.[19] But since Mahābhārata only refers to Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas out of whom Sagara created the Rājanyas and does not refer to 'Jātas' anywhere, the contention of Prof. Qanungo is highly untenable. Moreover, "Vītihotrāḥ svayaṁ Jātāḥ Śauṇḍikayastathaiva ca" does not at the outset offer an impression that the composer of the verse had 'Jātāḥ' meant to be construed as a tribal name; rather it can well construed to qualify 'Vītihotrāḥ Svayaṁ Jātāḥ" i.e. Vītihotras born as such. Mahābhārata even does not allude to the descendants of 'Jātas'. Jātas are not found in the South the stronghold of the Haihayas. The Jñāti Saṁgha of the Andhaka-Vṛṣṇi Yādavas and Jñātṛkas of Bihar, too, could not be the progenitors of the Jāṭas, since Pāṇini, Kauṭilya, *Mahābhārata* and *Purāṇas* have no reference made to this *Saṁgha*. On the basis of their physical characteristics and linguistic affinities and traditional professions of the Jāṭas proving them to be the indomitable warriors and skilful cultivators, Agriculture being the traditional main-stay of their economy, Sh. Dwivedi has proved Jāṭas to be the great farmers."[20]

Pāṇini in his Aṣṭādhyāyī supported by Greeks does not refer to Vāhīkas as foreigners though the intrusion of the foreigners had its impact upon their culture in the regions of Punjab and Sindha, Paṇini and Kauṭilya have referred to the Āyudhajīvi Saṅghas of Pānjab and Sindha (Yodhjīvis of Pāli Literature) which gradually took leave of the Vedic ritual and got amalgamated with the foreign elements. This was the case with Vāhīka Jarttikas as well.

As illustrated in 15 above Dr. D. C. Sircar has taken Jārttikas for Jarttikas and identified with modern Jaṭs. According to him the term 'Vāhlīka' used in the Mehrauli inscription of King Candra[21] and Rāmāyaṇa[22] has been erroneously incorporated for 'Vāhīka' which in Ancient India was a synonym for 'Pañcanada'[23]. He has quoted Mahābhārata Karṇa Parva (44.7) wherein Vāhīkas have been dubbed as 'dharmabāhyas' inhabiting the belt lying within the land of five rivers having Sindha for the Sixth,[24] who were fit to be kept away. He also quotes verses 31, 32 and 40 of the same chapter and others from chapter 45 proving the point that the kingdom (or the people) over which Śalya ruled was generally referred to as Pañcanada or Vāhīka and especially as Madraka, Jarttika and Āraṭṭa[25].

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[19] Jayadhvajāttālajaṅghastālajaṅghāttataḥ Sutāḥ,
haihayānāṁ kulāḥ pañca bhojāścāvantayastathā.
Vītihotrās Svayaṁ Jātāḥ Śauṇḍikeyā stathaivaca.
Agni Purāṇa 274, 10-11, p. 556. Curumaṇḍala Series No. XVII, 1957.

[20] JIH, 48.2, August 1970, p. 385.

[21] tīrtvā saptamukhānī yena samare sindhorjitāḥ vāhlikāḥ. *Historical and literary inscriptions* by Dr. Rājabali Pāṇdeya, p. 81.

[22] yayurmadhyena vāhlīkān Sudāmānaṁ ca parvataṁ.
Viṣṇupadaṁ prekṣyamāṇā (preṣamāṇā) vipāsāṁ cāpi śālmalīṁ. *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* 68. 18-19, p. 162. Gītā Press ed.

[23] *The Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, p. 237.

[24] Pañcānāṁ Sindhuṣaṣṭhānāṁ nadīnāṁ ye'ntare sthitāḥ,
tāndharmabāhyāna śucin Vāhīkānapi varjayet.

In other words, the Madrakas, Jarttikas and the Āraṭṭas were generally designated Pañcanada and Vāhīka. There is, however, one verse which suggests that Vāhika was originally the name of a country or people on the Beas (Vipāśā).[26] In another verse already referred to above (No. 40-41) as quoted by D. C. Sircar, Āraṭṭas as vāhīkas have been considered as lying within the pale of Five streams issuing out of the mountain where in an Ārya is not to stay even for a couple of days.[27] Likewise[28] "gāndhārāḥ madrakāścaiva vāhīkāścālpacetasaḥ, "malaṁ pṛthivyāṁ vāhīkāḥ strīṇāṁ madrastriyo malaṁ"[29] and "stenāḥ vāhikāḥ saṅkarāḥ vai surāṣṭrāḥṣ"[30] equally allude to the abominable character of the Vāḥīkas who were beyond the pale of Aryandom.

Justifying his claim to Vāhīka for Vāhlīka Dr. Sircar postulates that if Vāhīkas were originally a people living on the Beas we have to explain how the sense of the word (Vāhīka) expended so as to indicate all the tribes living in the pañcanada (i.e. Punjab). It is interesting in this connection to note that the Mahābhārata sometimes uses the terms Vāhīka, Madra, Jartika, Āraṭṭa and Pañcanada synonymously. It, therefore, appears that the lands of the tribes which lived close to one another in the Punjab became in course of time moulded into a big kingdom under the powerful kings of Śākala (Sialkot). As Vāhīka was beyond Kurukṣetra and therefore lay outside the boundary of Brahmāvartta, its analogical connection with the word bahis may have been another cause of the expansion of the geographical sense,[31] i.e. those that are beyond the pale of Himālaya and beyond the pale of Gaṅgā, beyond Yamunā

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[25] Pañcanadyo Vahantyetāḥ yatra Pīluvanānyuta. 31
śatadruśca vipāśā ca tṛtiyairāvati tathā.
candrabhāgā vitastā ca Sindhuṣaṣṭhā bahirgireh-32.
āra/ṭā nāma te deśāḥ naṣṭadharmā na tānvrajet. (Karṇa Parva, Mahābhārata 44, p. 62 Gītā Press ed.)
Vrātyāṅāṁ dāsamīyānāṁ Vāhikā nāmayajvanāṁ.

[26] Bahiśca nāma hikaśca Vipāśāyāṁ pīsācakau.
tayorapatyaṁ vāhīkāḥ naiṣā sṛṣṭiḥ Prajāpateh. Ibid., 41. 41-42, p. 62. *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 238.

[27] Pañca nadyo vahantyetāḥ yatrà nissṛtya parvatāt.
āraṭṭā nāma vāhīkāḥ nateṣvāryo dvyahaṁ vaset *Ibid.* p. 62.

[28] *Ibid.*, 45.8, p. 62.

[29] *Ibid.* 45.23, p. 63.

[30] *Ibid.*, 45.28, p. 63.

[31] The *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, pp. 238-239.

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and even beyond Kurukṣetra. "*Vāhīkadeśaṁ madrāṁśca Kutsayan*"[32] in the preceding stanza speaks in opprobrium of the Vāhīkas and the Madras.

"Those abiding between the rivers five in number having Sindhu for their Sixth one, have been called Vāhīkas who were unchaste (*Aśucīn*) and averse to duty or religion or piety (Symbolically Vedic religion) (*dharmabāhyān*)[33]. Vāhīkas have also been called undocile (*Vāhīkeṣ-vavinīteṣu*).[34] In Sialkot (Śākala) the *gāthās* (the popular narratives) pertaining to the Vāhīkas (Vaheyikāḥ Gāthāḥ) were sung aloud to the accompaniment of a dundubhi (trumpet) at nocturnal hours.[35] Vāhīkas took beef, wine extracted from the mollasses in company of beautiful dames. They ate the flesh of sheep along with the mouth-fuls of onion-syrup, pork (flesh of a boar), flesh of a cock, a donkey and a camel. Flesh of the sheep was the most palatable dish while Sīdhu was the most favourite drink.[36]

Ārattas have been described as under :—

"The countries which have on their out precincts the rivers Śatadru (Sutlej), Vipāśā (Beas) having Irāvatī for the third, Candrabhāgā (Chenab), Vitastā (Jhelam) having Sindhu for their sixth beyond the hills are called the countries known as the Arattas. A person deprived of his creed need not go to these. These countries have been called the abode of the Vrātyas, Dāsamīyas and the Vāhīkas who were not allowed to perform the Vedic sacrifices."[37].

From all these references, the following conclusions can be derived:—

1. Jarttikas or Jārttikas were Vāhīkas whose conduct was abominable.
2. Vāhīkas were "*dharmabāhyāḥ*" and "*aśucayaḥ*" i.e. deprived of the privileges of the Vedic Aryans.
3. Vāhīkas were the same as 'Ārattas'.
4. Vāhīkas and Ārattas were the names of one and the same country watered by the five streams Śatadru, Vipāśā, Irāvatī, Candrabhāgā, Vitastā having Sindhu for their sixth stream lying beyond the pale of the hillocks and abounding in Pīlu groves.
5. Five rivers flowed having come out of the mountains in this country Vāhīka alias Āratta.
6. This country was the abode of the Vrātyas, Dāsamīyas and Vāhīkas who were immune from the cult of the sacrifice.

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[32] *Mahābhārata Karṇa Parva*, 44.5, p. 61.
[33] *Ibid.*, 44.7, p. 61.
[34] *Ibid.*, 44.25, p. 61.
[35] *Ibid.*, 44.26, p. 61.
[36] *Ibid.*, 44.27-29, p. 61-62.
[37] Cp. 25-28 ff.

7 The people of this country ate beef, flesh of sheep, donkey, camel, pork and the flesh of the cock. They drank Sīdhu.

8 Madrakas, Jarttikas or Jārttikas, Ārattas, Vāhīkas and the Pañcanadas were one and the same people.

These conclusions pose many problems regarding the derivation of the word 'Jāṭa' in Hindi and 'Jaṭṭa' in Punjabi from the words 'Jārttikas' and Jārttikas respectively from the point of view of the Semantics and ethnography. According to Dr. V. S. Agarwal —"The region between the rivers Sindhu and Śatadru was Vāhīka. It included within its range the Janapadas known as Madra, Uśinara and Trigarta.[38] Dr. V. S. Agarwal also takes Vāhīka to be a variant name of Panjab as known from Pāṇinī.[39] Madra was the northern region of Vāhika having Śakala (Modern Sialkot) for its Capital. Śākala was situated on the river Āpagā (Modern Ayaka) which having issued out of the hills of Jammu joined Chenab near Sialkot in the rainy season. Patañjali (IV. 2.104 Vā 3) has named Śākala as one of the villages of Vāhīka. Pāṇini has taken Vāhīka to be a place name. Sialkot was in Eastern Madra.[40] Monier Williams takes Vāhīkas to be a despised tribe of Panjab.[41] Since Dr. D. C. Sircar takes Jarttikas (Jārttikas) to be a synonym of the Vāhīkas, Ārattas and the Madras, we can take this word primarily to denote a Janapada and secondarily its people by the maxim of the Cake and Stick (*Daṇḍāpūpikānyāya*) in *Arthāpatti.* Since *Mahābhārata* alone describes the tribes of the Vāhīkas to be of unvirtuous conduct and since we do not find any such significance attached to the communities enmasse inhabiting these areas in so far as Bāṇa (in the second Ucchvāsa) of Harṣacarita has extolled the best species of horses available in Āraṭṭa (Āraṭṭa-Jaiḥ) and that Pāṇini has taken Vābīka to be a synonym of Panjab, we can easily postulate the point that the inhibitants of the region between Rāvi and Chenab (Madra and Śākala) would be of the species of a despicable nature, the Vrātyas, Dāsamīyakas etc. or that only a part of the Panjab and that too, a greater percentage of the Panjab and the Madra Republic constituting the Jarttikas of the types of Vrātyas of *Atharvaveda* (*XVth Kāṇḍa*) were of despised conduct only in the days of *Mahā-Bhārata* War and later on through Aryanisation of even most of the foreign tribes such as Śakas, Yavanas, Pahlavas etc. they merged themselves into the society of the Aryans and started despising beef-eating and their women gave up the despicable deeds of drinking revelries etc. This fact can be explained away by the narrative given in the 45th adhyāya of the *Karṇaparva* that the rape of a virtuous woman by the looters of Vāhīka resulted in the cursing by her of those people who inhabited those areas whereby that despicable attitude of the society towards a particular tribe whose ancestors had performed the despicable deed of the rape of the pious lady, came into being. This fact was generalized as a common practice prevailing among the tribes that grew and expanded through social intercourse with that tribe. Those who merged themselves with the Aryans were called aryans and those who did not do so remained as despicable and in the following centuries either they merged with the Muslims or were categorized as śūdras and persons of other intermediary castes enunciated by Manu and Kauṭilya (IIIrd Books). In the light of these arguments the evolution of 'Jāṭa' and 'Jaṭṭa' from 'Jarttika' and 'Jārttika' is not an impossibility though some other expressions shall have to be evolved with a view to proving a better origin of this warrior tribe of the line of Kṣatriyas.

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[38] *Pāṇinikālīna Bhāratavarṣa*, p. 42.

[39] Ibid., p. 52.

[40] Ibid., p. 67.

[41] *Skt. Eng. Dictionary.*

In appendix I to their edition of *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* Sh. C. D. Dalal and K. S. Rāmāswami Śāstrī Śiromaṇi [42] (1934) take Vāhīka as the country between Bias and Sutlej north of Kekaya on the testimony of *Rāmāyaṇa*.[43] On the testimony of *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* they take it to denote Trigarta while on the evidence of Mahābhārata[44] they also take Bāhīkas, Vāhīkas and *Jartikas* as identical with the people of this country. On the same testimony they take Bāhlikas to be foreigners who invaded India. They had Śākala or Sialkot as their capital which was to the west of the Ravi.[45] In his Index[46] to 'the *Ancient Geography of India*' (*Buddhist period*) Alexander Cunningham calls Śākala variantly Sangala in the Punjab now Sangalawala; and in his description of Northern India[47] he narrates:

"The kathoei of Sangala are stigmatized in the *Mahābhārata* as 'thieving Bāhikas' as well as 'wine-bibbers' and beef eaters. They are also called by a variety of names as Madra, Bāhīka, Āraṭṭa and Jārttika and not even once by their own proper name which as we know from Alexander's historians, was Kathaei, which is still preserved in the Kathi of the present day." Kātyāyana derived this word from 'Bahis.' Bāhīkas were contemptuous in the public eye and were compared to cows—'*Bāhīko gauḥ*'. Pandit Kedāra Nātha Sharma[48] likewise commenting in his pariśiṣṭa II to *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* takes Vāhīka to be a name of Pañcanada. It was also known synonymously as Āraṭṭa and Ṭakka. Ṭakka is also given as a variant for Vāhīka in *Kuvalayamālā-kathā*. Even Rājaśekhara takes it as 'Ṭakka'. Nīlakaṇṭha the commentator of *Mahābhārata* takes it in the confluence of the five streams having Sindhu for their Sixth.

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[42] p. 308.

[43] II. 78.

[44] *Karṇaparva*, ch. 44.

[45] Cunningham, Alexander, p. 686.

[46] p. 479.

[47] Ibid., p. 181.

[48] p. 314.

Kaiyaṭa has compared Vāhikas to a cow. In *Sarasvatī Kaṇṭhābharaṇa* they have been called as foreigners.[49] In *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* it is written that Rudra was known as Śarva in the Eastern country and Bhava among the Vāhīkas. The inhabitants of the *Madhyadeśa* take Vāhīkas as of anārya (i.e. contemptuous) conduct.

It is apparent from the above contexts that Vāhika (Bāhīka), Vāhlīka (Bāhlīka), Āraṭṭa, Pañcanada, Jarttika or Jārttika (against Jarittika of Sh, Dwiwedi) were the names of the country as well as the people of Punjab as a whole and if we believe the derivation of Jāṭa and Jaṭṭa from Jārttika and Jarttika we shall have to believe that Jāṭas had their origin and growth in the Punjab. But from a study of the origin and growth of caste in India[50] we can easily presume that the origin and growth of the four orders of society came about through their functional—commixture and gradual combinations of Brāhma-Kṣatra Kṣatra-Vaiśya relations. To quote Dr. N. K. Dutt here—

"As the Vaiśyas were descending in the social scale the Śūdras as a class were rising higher and approximately more to the position of the Vaiśyas. During the Ṛgvedic period they were mostly War-Captives and hence slaves, pure and simple. But in the Gangetic plains it had not captured individuals only but often whole tribes reduced to subjection who became Śūdras. So the word came to mean the non-aryan in general. In the later Vedic literature the Śūdra is often contrasted with the Ārya instead of the Dāsa or Dasyu of the *Ṛgveda*.[51]

This theory of Dr. Dutt easily corroborates the evidence of *Mahābhārata*, as given by Dwiwedi above that Jarttikas as Vāhīkas were despised persons because of their despicable nature and conduct and beef-eating etc., which latter was a taboo in the Aryan Society as explained in the Epic thought upheld by Dr. N. K Dutt as valid during the Sūtra Period[52] quite erroneously in so far as cow has been held as an object of veneration and protection being '*Aghnī*' i.e. innocent or not fit to be killed in the Vedas especially *Atharvaveda*[53]. A possible conjecture for the valid derivation of Jāṭa-Jaṭṭa from Jārttika-Jarttika can be explained in this way that the Jarttikas or Jārttikas dubbed as Vrātyas, Dāsamīyas and Vāhīkas working beyond the pale of the Vedic ritual in the *Mahābhārata* Age might have shifted further north-wards after having been initiated into Aryandom and settled there as a part and parcel of the Kṣatriya class along with the Vaiśya tribes having been driven to these areas by the foreign marauders like Hindus and Muslims baptised as Gurjara—Pratihāras, Ābhīras and Paramāras who even had their relatives among the Brāhmaṇas.[54] According to Dr. V. S. Pathak Paramāras were Agniveśa Brāhmaṇas who through their Brahma-Kṣatra relations took to Kṣātradom at a later stage.[55] To quote Dr. B. N. Puri— " By the times Hūṇas entered India in 6th century A. D. Gurjaras had established a number of kingdoms in these regions. Hence the foreign origin of the Gurjaras was purely conjectural as it ignores certain basic considerations, namely, the absence of any evidence relating to their clash with an Indian Power, and the choice of the arid desert of Rajputana, rather than the fertile plains of the Punjab, for their final settlements in India. It is equally inexplicable how the Gurjaras as foreigners, could be assimilated so easily in Hindu Society and assumed a proper position. According to Pāṇinī-Sūtra " Śūdrāṇām aniravasitānāṁ " with Patañjali's gloss over it, the Yavanas and Śakas were included in the category of the Śūdras with this much of concession that they were not ostracized and the plate touched by them was not polluted. There was also no restriction on their residence in the Aryan localities. It is, therefore, clear that all foreigners were accorded the fourth grade in Hindu Society, except, of course, the noble ones who were classed as Kṣatriyas later on. There is not one instance of a Yavana-Brāhmaṇa or a Śaka Vaiśya or a Hūṇa-Brāhmaṇa, but there are references to Gurjara-Brāhmaṇas which would have been a sheer impossibility if they were foreigners[56]. The origin of the Ābhiras has also been discussed by Bhagwan Singh Sūryavaṁśī who says that even the foreign origin of the Tribe is equally speculative as sponsored by William Hunter who has postulated a foreign origin on the basis of a widow marrying the brother of her husband a Scythian Custom as it were. According to Sh. Sūryavaṁśī—this custom is still prevalent among many castes such as Parsis, Jāṭas and Meher even today. Hence it cannot exclusively be a Scythian custom.[57]

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[49] Bahirbhavo. Bāhīkaḥ. Ibid.

[50] Vide Nripendra Kumar Dutt's work of that name.

[51] Ibid, Vol. I, p. 85. See also *Śūdras in Ancient India* by Dr. Ram Sharan Sharma, Ch. II, p. 8-41 as also *The Caste System of the Hindus by* Sourindra Mohan Tagore.

[52] Ibid., tp. 160 onwards.

[53] III. 30. 13, VI. 67, 73, 74, 94, 123, and VII. 52, 94.

These views of Sh. Sūryavaṁśī afford us a clue to the surmise that a foreign custom followed by them is followed by the Ābhīras, Parsis and Mehers etc. The theory of the amalgamation of the foreign tribes with the four orders of Hindu Society carves out a similar ground for us in postulating a foreign impact on the Jarttikas of Vāhīka who fell a prey to the curse of a pious lady who had been raped by one of their clans, were later on driven away further north by the exigency of a situation either through a foreign invasion or through an inquest for better livelihood or through a stronger military power of escalation only, to be submerged in the ocean of the Aryan's saline acqua that had its prejudices and biases against these retrogrades who took a revenge in due course of time and became a part and parcel of the existing Aryan Society. That is why apart from the gnomon Jāṭa available among the Muslims we find many such Jāṭas among the Brāhmaṇas (reduced to the minimum in present day society) (available as such among the Sikhs in the Patiala division and the Ferozepore Division including Districts Bhatinda and Faridkot) and most promiscuously among the kṣatriyas and the Vaiśyas and rarely among the Śūdras in the Uttara Pradeśa, Haryana, Punjab and Rājasthāna.

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[54] *Ancient Historians of India* by Viśvanbhara Śaraṇa Pāṭhaka, ch. VI, tp. 157-171. *Th history of the Gurjara Pratihāras*, ch. I, tp. 1-18. *The Ābhiras—Their History and Culture* b Bhagwan Singh Sūryavaṁśī, ch. II, tp. 15-28.

[55] AHO I, p. 170. Paramāras, p. 19.

[56] *The Theory of the Gurjara Pratihāras*, p. 4.

[57] *The Ābhīrās—Their History and Culture*, p. 28

Dr. D. C. Sircar's Brahma-Kṣatriya and Brahma-Vaiśya-[58] published in the Viśveśvarānanda Indological Journal further corroborates our point under consideration. Dr. Sircar has established the sena-chief of Bengal Sāmantasena by name and Mahāsāmanta Mācīyarasa of the Māṭūravaṁśa and some others of the same regions as of Brahma-Kṣatriya origin i.e. born from the Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya anuloma maritalties. He has also referred to the Ratha-Kāra community of the Telugu speaking areas (in an inscription of Vikrama-coḍa governor of Veṅgi, 1092-1118 A.D.) as the children of the Brahma Vaiśya combinations who worked as carpenters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths and stone-masons. Likewise Kṣatriya-Vaiśya, Vaiśya-Śūdra combinations might have given rise to still lower orders. According to Kauṭilya :—[59].

The sons of a Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya born of a wife belonging to the immediately next varṇa are of the same varṇa (as the father), of a wife belonging to the next but one varṇa, are not of the same varṇa. A Brāhmaṇa's son from a Vaiśya wife is Ambaṣṭha, from a Śūdra wife a Niṣāda or Pāraśava. A Kṣatriya's son (from a śūdra wife is Ugra). A Vaiśya's son (from a Śūdra's wife) is nothing but a Śūdra. And of these (three varṇas) come begotten on wives of the same varṇa by those who have not practised the laws are vrātyas. These are the right order sons. A Rathakāra is a vaiśya (so called) because of his profession.

Hence Jarttikas dubbed as Vaiśyas and inhabitants of Vāhīka could be the the progeny of such combinations. Their initiation back into the Aryan cult could well-nigh make them the progenitors of the Jaṭṭas or Jāṭas. Initiation back into the aryan cult, of the vrātyas was a regular practice permissible under rules of the Atharvavedic civilization as postulated by Dr. Sampūrṇānanda[60] and

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[58] VIJ, Vol. I, pt. ii, (Sept. 1963) published by Visis P.O. Sadhu Ashram Hoshiarpur, p. 320-321.

[59] Brāhmaṇa—Kṣatriyayoranantrāputrāḥ savarṇāh ekāntarā asavarṇāḥ. Brāhmaṇasya vaiśyāyāma ambaṣṭhaḥ śūdrāyāṁ niṣādaḥ pāraśavo vā Kṣatriyasya śūdrāyāmugraḥ, Śūdra eva, vaiśyasya. Savarṇāsu caiṣāmacaritavratebhyo Jāṭāḥ Vrātyāḥ ityanulomāḥ.

Karmaṇā Vaiśyo rathakāraḥ. *Kauṭilīyaṁ arthaśāstraṁ* III. 7.20-25 35. pp. 106-107 of pt. I, pp. 248-249, of Part II, of R. P. Kangle's edtion.

[60] *Vrātya kāṇḍa, Atharvaveda*, KV.

V. W. Karambelkar.[61] Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta has dilated upon the title—:" The Agras; an Ancient People of the Punjab " in the *Viśveśvarānanda Indological* Journal[62] and has traced the existence of the word in Aṣṭādhyāyī, Baudhāyana, Patañjali,[63] Cāndravyākaraṇa,[64] Vinayapiṭaka,[65] Jātakas, Manusmṛti[66] and Mahābhārata[67]—along with Bhadras, Rohitakas, Mālavas, Rājanyas, Vṛṣṇis, Śibis, Trigartas, Vemakas, taking them to be a Janapada-community of the Punjab (Hissar etc. modern Haryana) who were most probably the ancestors of the present day Aggarwals or Agravālas : they were, therefore, vaiśyas who even dominate in these regions of Haryana today as vaiśas who might have been either different from the Jāṭas or just a part and parcel of their clans by marital relations etc.

From this we can conclude this point that apart from the Jarttka (Jārttika) Vrātyas as Vāhīkas there were Agras as Vaiśyas working in the Punjab contemporaneously with the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas rājanyas, Bhadras etc.

The data collected and discussed above prove the following facts :—

1. Jarttikas and Jārttikas as Vāhīkas aligned with the Vrātyas in *Mahābhārata* were named as people as such in the days of Mahābhārata.
2. Jarttika, Jārttika, Vāhīka, Āraṭṭa were synonyms only in the days of Mahābhārata.
3. Agras, Mālavas, Rājanyas, Bhadras, Śibis were the names of different Janapadas of the Punjab. Jarttika and Jārttika as Vāhīka or apart from Vāhīka was a different Janapada.
4. The theory of the Jāṭas as Jaṭṭas being the successor of the Jarttikas or Jārttikas falls through for want of any palpable evidence confirming the linguistic derivation by phonetic-corruption. Girīśa Chandra Dvivedi has himself refuted the theory of ' Jaṭṭa ' being the primary word from which Jāṭa is derived by saying that " *Ajayajjartto Hūṇān* " in the '*Cāndravyākaraṇa*' is a misreading for " *Ajayadgupto Hūṇān.* "[68] He rather affirms the view that ' Jāṭa ' meaning a Saṅgha is the proper word from which the word ' Jāṭa ' is derived.[69]

In my opinion the word "*cāṭabhaṭa*" variantly written as Cārabhaṭa should be the proper form from which the word ' Jāṭa ' could be derived. It is a common-tendency in Sanskrit language that the initial tenues or hard consonants become medials or soft consonants in Prākṛtas and modern Indian Languages. Hence Cāṭa giving Jāṭa is no anomaly because in Ancient CIVIL administration-according to Dr. R. S. Tripāṭhī it denotes irregular and regular soldiers.[70] Vogel however thinks that cāṭa is equivalent to modern car or " head of a pargana responsible for the internal arrangement of a district for the collection of revenue and the apprehension of criminals. According to the same scholar bhaṭa, which is usually compounded with cāṭa should be taken to mean "An official subordinate to the head of a pargana."[71] Dr. Vāsudeva Upādhyāya has construed cāṭa to mean a police-man.[72] The word *cāṭabhaṭa* occurs in many of the copper plate grants such as those of Harṣa (Madhuban and Banskhera),[73] Mohot panegyric of Valabhī King Dreṇasimha,[74] the Valabhī copper plate grant of Dharasena[75] and others "*cāṭabhaṭa*" or '*bhaṭacāṭa*' appear to be the officer incharge of the Revenue Department and the apprehension of criminals. These cover the job of a police-officer or a spy or a C.I.D. officer (a cāra), *r*, *l*, *ḍ*, *ṭ*, alternating in different contexts in linguistic processes of corruption and derivation. A revenue officer, a police officer or a C.I.D. officer is prone to enjoy an enviable status in a society. Cāṭas, therefore, assuming the form of Jāṭas enjoy such status in society today. Equality, reciprocity, free intercourse are the main features of the Jāṭa Society. They are free from the bondage of caste though community bias is there. The Jāṭas are mainly vegetarions. Their community is a homogeneity of the various gotras. The happy go-lucky Jāṭas mix-up freely with each other. Tall and strongly built, brave and industrious, smart and handsome unostentatious and unsophisticated, self-willed and tough, the Jāṭas wield sword and scythe with equal dexterity. It is a community of indomitable warriors and skilful cultivators. Agriculture, the traditional mainstay of their economy, is their favourite occupation[76] etc.

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[61] *Atharvavedic Civilization*, p. 24.
[62] Vol. IX, March 1971, pp. 139-150.
[63] Ibid., p. 141.
[64] Ibid., p. 142.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Ibid., p. 146.
[67] Ibid., p. 141.
[68] JIH, vol. 48, pt. II, August 1970, pp. 391-392.
[69] Ibid., pp. 392-393.

All these traits can easily be symbolized in a revenue officer or the administrator or a commissioner of a division or a district. In my opinion, therefore, Jarttika, Jartta (Jārttaka), Jāṭa are not the suitable expressions from where the origin of the Jāṭas can be traced, Cāṭa seems to be the next suitable one to help solve this riddle which still stands open to question.

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[70] *History of Kanauj* p. 137 : *cāṭabhaṭa*.

[71] Ibid.

[72] *A study of Ancient Indian Inscriptions* p. 79.

[73] Pramātāra rājasthānīya Kumārāmātyoparika viṣayapatibhaṭacāṭa sevakā-dīn pṛtivāsi anapadān samājñāpayati-Banskhera cp. p. 113 and line 8 p. 146 of Dr. Rāja Bali Pāṇḍeya's *Historical and Literary Inscriptions*.

[74] Sarvānevāsmatsanta-kā-yuktaka-viniyuktakamahattara-dāṅgika dhru-vasthāṇādhi-araṇaṁ cāṭabhaṭādīṁśca etc.—Mohot cp. p. 136.

[75] āyuktaka drāṅ-gikamahattara cāṭa bhaṭaśaulkikadhruvādhi-karaṇika viṣayapati etc.

[76] JIH, XLVIII. II, August 1970, p. 385.

ELEPHANTA IN THE CONTEXT OF EVOLUIION AND SIGNIFICANCE OF ŚAIVA SCULPTURE

By

RATAN PARIMOO, Baroda

I

The astounding richness of Indian sculptural tradition is gradually bein recognized all over the world. The characteristics of ancient Indian sculptur are not only so distinct but that it is qualitatively so very superior that it wi not be an exaggeration to claim for it a major place among one of the uniqu sculptural traditions in the world along with that of Egypt and Greece.

A critic has rightly said that Sculpture might be defined as a whole, as " An art which consists in choosing and combining, in different ways, construc tional facts of the living form in order to produce rhythmic arrangements fitte to express the manner of thought of a nation, an epoch, and, in particular of th individual artist. " [1]

This definition could very appropriately apply to the three major sculptura traditions of the world, the Egyptian, the Greek and the Indian. It is in th context of the first two of these that the achievements of the Indian sculptur must be measured. Each of these three represents a plastic language o mode, which is a unique and specific form of sculptural representation. If thes modes are taken as belonging to self-contained cultural matrixes, marked by consistency of outlook as well as a process of elaboration within the restraint o persistent features, it will not be necessary to give a name to each of the mode except in terms of the culture which produced them. Since sculpture is a mean of plastic expression as a language capable to express forms of thought, on could talk of " Plastic Thought " which is also a brain activity, therefor necessarily conditioned by relevant religious and social milieu. " Plasti Thought " and " Plastic Form " are not only simultaneous activities but " Plasti Thought " seems to come into existence, completed by and inseparable fro its visible transcription in form. [2]

Common to these three modes of sculpture is the visualization and realiz tion of their gods through the human figure i e. the persistent obsession with th human form and yet what they portray have notable distinctions. Such distin tion can be observed, for instance, in the computation of anatomical relatio ships, although each of these traditions envolved a complex system of propo tions for the idealized human form. The celebration of the human form is take to a high degree of concern even in Indian sculpture but it is the Greeks wh pushed forward such a celebration to eventually become an end in itself. By contrast the Egyptian civilization produced (from C. 3000 B.C. to C. 1000 B.C.) a highly formalized sculpture which remained for ever dominated by the nature of the material used and the religious symbolism in the Hegellian sense.[3] Yet precisely these very features gave Egyptian sculpture an aura of mystery which was eschewed by the Greeks but retained by the Indian sculptors despite displaying an equal interest in the sheer beauty of the human body.

The differences between Greek and Indian attitude to human figure have been very perceptively analysed by Stella Kramrisch : "The Greeks made gods of their marble statues of perfectly proportioned men. In India, the discipline of Yoga not only controls the physical body, but purges and rebuilds the whole living being. The human body transformed by Yoga is shown free not only from defects, but also from its actual physical nature. The sensation of lightness of release from the bondage of physical body induced by the practice of Yoga, produces the 'subtle body'. The subtle body is filled by breath and nourished by the pulsating sap of life. It is the vehicle for states of realization above the physical state; in art, it is their receptacle, conduit and shape. The Greeks took as their ideal the disciplined, athletic physical body. The Indians took the disciplined state, or subtle body of inner realization, on which to model the shape of their images. Greek sculptors were not necessarily atheletes, nor were all Indian artists Yogis. In either case, training and environment equipped them with their own characteristic types and sensibilities."[4]

Indian sculptors have proved their extra-ordinary creative talent and superior skilled craftsmanship in carving magnificent sculptures from the live rock, in forging exquisite figurines in metals and in moulding varieties of objects in clay. Many an Indian sculptor must have been highly proficient in his technical skills and sufficiently familiar with religious iconography, who probably worked in collaboration with the learned priests on their great sculptural projects. On the other extreme are the humble craftsmen who made the village deities in perishable material like clay which were never meant to be permanent.

Norman Blake's generalizations about the art of sculpture may very appropriately apply to Indian sculpture when he proceeds to lay down that sculpture should remain within the restrictions of the material and its nature, the sculptor rejoicing in the mass, the weight and the rock quality since he thinks in masses and their limiting planes.[5] Masses should be cunningly distributed and primal fundamental facts of visible nature translated into the form required. According to Norman Blake "Form is fundamentally based on a system of planes" and carefully manipulated "depressions on either side of a convex form." In sculpture both the choice of the subject and the technique must be coordinated with that of the material resulting in "lordly domination of material presence in sculpture."[6]

Zimmer substantiates this while observing that in Indian sculpture :

" Such effects are realized with such consumate ease. The works betray no trace of strain or exertion on the part of the artist craftsmen. They seem to have appeared simply as a matter of course, as the anticipated result of a traditional skill in the handling of tools and pattern..."[7]

And with specific reference to the rock cut shrines R. Von Leyden has very succintly expressed that " ..the Deccan sculptor learned to extract the ultimate in power and subtility from his material, learnt to play on it with the virtuosity with which a great musician masters his instrument."[8]

Over and above, the Indian sculptor was gifted with an exceptional sensitivity for " the relative importance of the facts of visible nature ", consequently investing the sculptures with remarkable simplicity which is distinct from the simplicity of the archaic or the naive. Rather, it is achieved as a result of deliberate search for the elemental form and accompanied by conscious restraint.

II

Religion has provided the raison d'etre and the inspiration for the flourishing of art of sculpture in India. Sculptural forms of deities exist from about second or first century B.C. pertaining to all the three major religions of the country—Buddhism, Hinduism and Jainism. In Hinduism there is the practice of worshipping of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Śakti and Sūrya and the cults named after these gods. All these sectarian forms of worship have developed from a few centuries before the Christian Era and onwards, although the Hindu or the Brāhmaṇical cults trace their ancestry from the Vedic age.[9] Historically speaking the earliest sculptures as they exist in ancient monuments belong to the Yakṣa cult as well as the earlier phases of Bhāgawatism (as revealed by Yakṣa, Nāga and Balarāma images).[10] But, it is in Buddhist sculptures that we observe the first attempts at giving a human form to the abstract concept of deity in the particular sense that it can be called " anthropomorphism. " This phenomenon implies the worshipping of god in the concrete form of an idealised human being into which are infused the world-view and the philosophical standpoint of the appropriate cult.[11] Before such a development took place, the sculptors portrayed the deity aniconically through symbols such as Boddhi tree, a pair of feet or an empty throne. The early Yakṣa, Nāga and Sūrya images were merely human figures carrying attributes to serve as icons. But, the human image of the Buddha was not only a profound achievement in plastic form of the idea of Buddhahood, it also posed a great challenge to all subsequent sculptors when attempting to give form to Hindu, especially Śaiva concepts.

The beginning of Śaiva sculptures may be traced in the cylindrical *liṅgams* as a necessary precedent before the deity could be depicted anthropomorphically in a wide range of sculptural and iconographic variations. Such a philosophical realization was a great achievement on the part of the Indian sculptor. Scholars like Gopinath Rao,[12] Ananda Coomaraswamy,[13] J. N. Bannerji[14] and recently Sivaramamurti[15] have done considerable research and study to unravel and explain the beauty, the majesty and the philosophical implications of the Śaiva sculptures.

The origin of Śiva goes back to the Vedic Rudra (the deity of destruction personified as whirl-wind) who is beginning to assume pre-eminence among all the other gods as is indicated in the Śatarudrīya of Yajurveda.[16] Subsequently the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* attributes to him most of the powers which are now associated with this great god.[17] Later on in the *Purāṇas*, after the beginning of the Christian era, many myths and *charitras* were woven around him as is indicated in *Śaiva*, *Skanda* and *Liṅga Purāṇas*.[18] Many sculptural representations owe a lot to such myths. The Śaiva icons are described in such ancient texts as *Viṣṇudharamottara Purāṇa*[19] and *Aṁśumadbhedāgama*[20]. Ecstatic literary descriptions have been very devotedly composed by Kālidāsa and many Tamil Śaivite writers.[21]

Perhaps the earliest sculptural representation of *Śiva* is the *Guḍimallam liṅgam* of 2nd century B.C. which points to his genesis as a fertility god and to his Dravidian origin, although he might have been worshipped as early as the Indus Valley Civilization on the basis of the Paśupati seal.[22] Phallic stones as prototypes of the *liṅgam*, have also been found at Mohenjodaro probably in use more than four thousand years ago.[23] The *Guḍimallam liṅgam* combines both a full human figure and a naturalistic phallus which eventually takes on an abstract cylindrical form, rounded on the top and fixed on to a *pīṭhikā* base. The phallic emblem has also other references as the axis of the universe itself and embodiment of *Sakala-Niṣkala* concepts, i.e. having body and form and at the same time being formless.[24]

Related to the *liṅgam* form are the *Mukhaliṅgas* that is the *ekamukhaliṅga* and the *caturmukha-liṅga*. These again combine the columnar and the human form of Śiva. The face in the *ekamukhaliṅga* is like a sudden effulgent emergence of the God from the abstract cylindrical shaft. A number of such *liṅgas* are found from the Gupta period.[25] The *caturmukha liṅga* actually represents five aspects of Śiva, the face on the West, *Sadyojāta*, that on the North, *Vāmadeva*, the Southern *Aghora* and the Eastern face is *Tatpuruṣa*. The fifth face *Īśāna*-expected to be on the top is never represented because it is believed that it is beyond even the comprehension of the *yogis*. These five faces are collectively called *Pañcabrahmas*.[26] (See Fig. 2)

Mention must be made of the *Liṅgodbhava* images which are also like vertical shafts in the middle of which is revealed a full human form of Śiva. On top of it is shown *Brahmā/gander* and below the *Viṣṇu/varāha* which refer to the myth of Śiva appearing as a pillar of fire to establish his triumph over the other two earlier gods. This sculptural representation has been appropriately termed as the phenomenon of expanding or growing form.[27]

The most magnificent sculpture in which is fully realised the symbolism and the philosophical concept of Śiva Mahādeva is the one at Elephanta earlier known as Maheśamūrti. (See fig. 1).[28] Sculpturally, it represents a continued experimentation with the variations on the *liṅgam* form and iconography and therefore it could be characterised as a gigantic *mukhaliṅga* emerging from an unlimited and nebulous darkness where only three faces are shown.[29] The *Sadyojāta* on the west cannot be seen as it is assumed to lie behind the central face. This is the eastern face called *Tatpuruṣa*, in which the impassive and august serenity of Śiva is made manifest. The moving satanic countenance of the skull-crowned wrathful *Aghora Bhairava*, the destroyer, is on the left which is balanced by the youthful peace and beauty of Umā's face on the right. The *samādhi* state of *Tatpuruṣa* had prompted Stella Kramrisch to observe : " The likeness of man became merged into the presence of God. Having absorbed the forms of breathing life and the symbols of abstract meaning, their union was sealed by the inward look of the countenance. Holding its breath, the body pauses, while over its face comes an expression of listening to the stillness of life that is at one with self."[30] In these characteristics, *Maheśamūrti* is a logical sequel to the most serene Buddha sculptures which it, in its turn, surpasses.

This collossal triad was at one time thought to represent the *Hindu* trinity of Brahmā, the creator, Viṣṇu, the preserver and Śiva, the destroyer. But, now, they are generally accepted as the perfect embodiment of the composite iconographic concept of Śiva's omnipotence, omniscience and pre-eminence as well as time and eternity, creation and sustenance. In some recent publications it has been reidentified as " Sadāśiva " as the specific iconographic form of Śiva with five faces.[31]

Another multiheaded image is the *Parel* Śiva which has an intriguing iconographic character. In it two extra heads are shown above the life-size figure of Śiva with a further pair of heads emanating from either side making in all seven heads. Certain scholars interpret it as Śiva, the *Saptaswaramaya*, as musical master personifying the seven notes, thus giving him the added significance of the great deity of music.[32] It must be a contemporaneous work belonging to the same phase as Elephanta. U. P. Shah has made an interesting suggestion that the similarities between the *Samapada sthānāṅka* Śiva images of Sāmlāji and that of Parel postulate a relationship between western Indian school and Elephanta Sculptures.[33]

In the *Mukhaliṅgas* the sculptors combined the abstract and shaft-like cylindrical form with the human head and adopted the meditating face of the *yogī* for the principal *mukha* (as had been done in the case of Buddha sculpture) to contrast with other faces, each given an appropriate expressional variation in what was a very ingenious and creative solution.[34] It can be observed that earlier Śaiva faces have wide open eyes with prominent vertical or horizontal *trinetra*, more to suggest " anger " rather than benignity. But it still remains a mystery as to the tentative beginnings made by Indian sculptors in handling the full human figure with a view to incorporating *Śaiva* ideology. The *Guḍimallam liṅgam Śivā* is only an adaptation of a *Yakṣa* type figure *addorsed* to the *liṅgam* form. Yet, it can be only be called an icon as also the *Śiva* image ascribable to early Gupta period which is very much like a Boddhisattva type figure holding a vessel in his left hand in the manner as is associated with *Maitreya*.[35] What distinguishes it as a *Śaiva* image is the *triśūla* in one of the four hands and the *Ūrdhwa liṅga*. This ithiphallic aspect has subsequently been retained always in the images of *Śaiva*. The stiff *Samabhaṅga* posture is also assumed by the principal central figure in the Parel *Śiva*.

Even these together with other stray sculptures of the pre-*Vākāṭaka* period are not sufficient enough to envisage the sudden emergence of the most profound and all-embracing sculptural creation of *Śiva* depicted as the lord of dance in the *Naṭeśa* or the *Naṭarāja* images. Best known and most familiar of these are the South Indian bronzes of the *Chola* period, from 10th century onward.[36] But these *Nṛtyamūrtis*, as they are called, are once again composite representations of *Śiva*. The cosmic dance, *Tāṇḍava*, symbolically portrays the destructive aspect of *Śiva*—the enactment of the end of the world as the basis of recreation.[37] A benign smile on his face, his beautifully lithe body, gracefully balanced on the right leg resting on the *apasmāra*, he gently lifts his left leg in *bujhaṅgatrasita* across the knee of the other leg. The two main hands are in *asaṁyukta* position, one in *abhaya* and the other in *lola hasta*. Rest of the hands carry the many attributes, snake, ḍamaru, flame and *khaṭvāṅga*.

The swaying locks of the *jaṭā* are touching the rims of the encircling *prabhāvali* adding to the continuity of the movement. The rhythmic continuity of the dance also creates an impact of dynamic stability. The trampled *apasmāra* symbolizes the victory over ignorance and the pointing toe of the left leg removes the *māyājala*, which also actually initiates the spin of the whirling movement. As lord of *Chidambaram*, according to the South Indian *Śaiva* saints, Nayanars, this is the form in which he reveals himself to his *Bhakta*s and captures their hearts. Thus, these bronze images are the finest creations of the Indian aesthetic sensibility.

But, still earlier realizations of the *Naṭarāja* concept are the great high reliefs in stone at the famous cave shrines, like Badāmī, Elephanta and Ellorā of sixth and seventh and eighth centuries. (figures 7 and 8). At Ellora stands the imposing *Kailāsānātha* temple and related complex of cave shrines, filled with numerous Śaiva sculptures. It will be seen that Elephanta *Naṭeśvara* is one of the earliest of dancing images of *Śiva*. It is also important to observe that the *bhujaṅgatrasita Karṇa* appropriate to the *tāṇḍava*, where the left leg is raised and crosses over the right knee, is very rarely attempted in stone with the exception of a few like the one at Gangaikondacholapuram (11th century) making it necessary to leave a part of the stone uncut to give support to the raised leg which is aesthetically very unsatisfactory.[38] Instead, the *Lalita* and *Chatura Karanas* were found more appropriate by the sculptors for carving in stone as they did not require detaching the legs from the rock surface. It is these two *karṇas* on which the suclptors in stone persistently based their solutions to the problems of movement which must have served as precedents to the sculptors in metal (compare figs. 7 and 8).

The dynamic dance stances have also been used to represent Śiva's *aghora* or *raudra* forms, called *Saṁhāramūrtis* as in the *Gajasaṁhāramūrti* which is very much akin to the *Naṭarāja* form.[39] In it, Śaiva triumphantly lifts the elephant skin to spread a mandorla around him with upward thrust of his body while the left knee is raised upto his waist in the *Ālīḍha* posture. The *Andhakāsuravadhamūrti* and the *Tripurāntaka* are truely personifications of death itself with wrathful expressions, round popping eyes and protruding tusk-like teeth. The *Bhairava*, which is a multi-armed image, is metaphorically called carrying forest of arms. It may combine two *saṁhāramūrtis* simultaneously namely, *Andhakāsuravadhamūrti* and the *Gajāsurasaṁhāramūrti* resulting in sculptural image full of tremendous power. Elephanta has one of the most expressive *Aṅdhakāsuravadha* (*Bhairava*) images possessing a pulsating torso, dynamically disposed in space which is rendered with so much sensitivity for three-dimensional form.[40] This and the *Naṭarāja* are superb examples of the great capacity of the Indian sculptor for expressing subtle nuances of mood which is indicated by the violent aspect of Śiva's body as it surges forward in contrast with the dancing Śiva revealing a benignity in its gentle sway, although, both these are plastic forms embodying movement

While the *raudra* forms embody tremendous activity and movement, the *saumya* forms are characterised by eternal repose, peace and calmness. These *saumya* forms include the *Anugrahamūrtis* as well. *Ardhanārīśvara* is of the same class in which Śiva is united with Śakti or Pārvatī standing in the presence of his *vāhana* the bull, as depicted at Elephanta. Such images began to be fashioned at the stage when *Śakti* worship had got incorporated with Śaivism. Sculpturally, it is a great achievement in combining the male virility and feminine beauty in inert stone. Again, there are many sculptural variations of this androgynous theme.[41] Conceptually, the significance of *Kalyāṇasundaramūrti*, marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī, which is an often-repeated theme tackled by sculptors, can be understood also in the context of *Śakti* worship. Besides, their significance lies in celebrating the auspicious occasion of timeless bliss and tenderness. These qualities are adumberated in other sculptural representations of the ideal divine couple, namely Umā Maheśwara and *Ālinganmūrtis*.[42] However, the most extraordinary sculptural representation of the *anugrahamūrtis* is the *Rāvaṇa-anugrahamūrti* at Ellora which is a majestic tablaux of three-dimensional character. The upper half shows Pārvatī coyly clinging to Śiva as the divine couple seated in repose is disturbed by the impudent attempts to shake the *Kailāsa* by Rāvaṇa who is depicted multi-armed, eternally trapped under the base of the mountain by mere pressure of Śiva's too. (fig. 11) This episode of Rāvaṇa shaking *Kailāsa* is yet another theme which the sculptors found full of possibilities, but it will be argued below that it was its compositional visualization as an " event in rock-hewn space " at Elephanta over which the Ellora sculptors developed its grand form at the *Kailāśanātha* cave. But, conversely, most of the other representations appear synoptic and frontal as e.g. in Dhumar Lena.[43]

III

The corresponding phenomenon of the decline of Buddhist cave sculpture in the wake of the emergent maturity of Neo-Brāhmaṇical monumental sculpture and this too with an unprecedented vigour is very unique in the development of the history of Indian sculpture. It has been rightly stressed by Niharranjan Ray.[44] This is witnessed in the *Pallava* monuments at Mahābalipuram on the eastern coast and with tremendous creative fervour at Ellora but also at Chalukyan centres at Badāmī and Aihole. In this neo-Brahmaṇical renascence, Elephanta has a major place.

Buddhist sculpture was the art of stillness, "exempt from movement" with which it achieved its logical climax that could only lead to stagnation as in some of the Buddhas on the Ajanta cave facades. With the resurgence of Hinduism, the artists' imagination seems to have been fired by the certain rivalry to Buddhism, by the exciting possibilities of representing various Brāhmaṇical gods as they were being conceived in the *Purāṇas* whose episodic contents were found most stimulating and offering wide scope for sculptural realization. It can be generalized that it concretized into two directions—one was in the episodic reliefs which carried on from the narrative quality of the early Buddhist reliefs, through Brāhmaṇical Udaigiri and Deogarh, matured at Elephanta and at Mahābalipuram to continue through certain group of reliefs at Ellora like those in cave 14 (Rāvaṇa Kī *Khāī*). The other trend may be called "synoptic," reducing the episode to the minimum as had been a major feature in the Gupta Buddhist reliefs at Sarnath which too is found in a number of Brāhmaṇical reliefs at Ellora, Badāmī, Pattadakal. This synoptic trend eventually replaced the episodic approach minimizing the *Paurāṇic* content and paved the way for strict iconographic discipline. The development of Hindu iconography must be seen in this context.

The question of the relationship of Elephanta with other monuments in the Deccan area is, therefore, an important one which has got overshadowed by the singling out of the imposing *Maheśamūrti* image for lavish praise.[45] As a cave shrine, the immediate comparison with Ajanta and Ellora is obvious and with those that are nearer, that is Jogeshwari and Kanehri. Even Auraṅgābād[46] Badāmī[47] and Aihole[48] have relevance. Bound up with this question of relationships is the problem of dating of Elephanta which poses many difficulties because it cannot be directly related to any ruling dynasty or monarch of Western India through inscriptions or any other firm evidence. Most scholars have not given due attention to this question and have assumed it to be a Cālukya/Rāṣṭrakūṭa monument, contemporary to Ellora and assigned it to the date bracket of 7th to 8th century,[49] without feeling the need to give cogent reasons. I would like to submit that it can be an interesting art historical exercise to analyse Elephanta in the context of cave shrines in Western India and the evolution and exceptional character of its reliefs.

The late date had been initially proposed by Burgess on the basis of a dedicatory inscription which has recently been pointed out to be too fragmentary and worn out to serve as palaeographic evidence for dating.[50] Wide off the mark was even Goetz who not only considered Elephanta as a late monument while giving a misconceived analysis of stylistic phases of Ellora sculptures, but also concluded that "Rāvaṇa shaking Kailāśa" had been executed as late as 10th century having superficial sensitiveness and reflecting the style of already decadent society.[51] In her comparative analyses of the piller motifs, Muriel Neff has pointed out the similarities between those at Badāmī (inscribed 578 A.D), Dhumar Lena and Elephanta caves taking the position that Elephanta is later in the sequence than the other two.[52] Such a position cannot hold good if sculptural reliefs from all these caves are compared with each other. In spite of a perceptive stylistic analysis R. Von Leyden too considered Elephanta as a late work although representing a high point in a cycle of development in the Deccan sculpture.[53]

Although Khandalawala perceived that Elephanta was executed earlier than the dates proposed by other scholars, yet he placed it in the first half of seventh Century. He pronounced it to be "Post Gupta" assuming the absorption of Gupta ideals by the Deccan monuments for which he coined the phrase "Deccan Gupta".[54] But what is construed as "Deccan Gupta" should be actually considered as *Vākāṭaka* (5th/6th century) which has been the stand taken by Shivaramamurti in his recent publications wherever Elephanta sculptures are alluded to [55]. Thus, he has accepted the position held by Hiranand Shastri so far as the latter considered the Elephanta sculptures to be "early" who, however mistakenly regarded them to be belonging to Gupta period which for him represented the beginning of medieval phase : [56] More precise has been Walter Spink who surmises that Elephanta was the work of craftsmen who moved into the services of *Viṣṇukuṅḍins* and *Kalachūris* after the fall of *Vākāṭakas* during the first half of sixth century. These dynastic rulers were Śaivites and followed the *Lakulīśa/Pāśupata* cult as indicated by the many representations of this diety at Jogeshwari which Spink thinks to be a kind of "trial" cave shrine in relationship to Elephanta reliefs. [57]

That Elephanta could have been carved during the later part of *Vākāṭaka* rule and immediately after is a stylistic possibility which is upheld in this essay by taking recourse to many parallels between the Gupta sculpture and Ajanta on the one hand and with Elephanta reliefs on the other hand. It would appear that while Ajanta was celebrating the last flowering of Buddhist art during the *Vākāṭaka* rule, it also paved the way for the emergence of Brāhmaṇical sculpture. That the art of *Vākāṭaka* period also partakes of the same "Classical" spirit which is adumbrated in the Gupta ideals as enunciated by Coomaraswamy, should be seen in the context of the developmental progression within the Deccan monuments having their antecedents in sculptural reliefs such as at Amarāvatī. Coomaraswamy was the first to notice such a progression with reference to Gupta art.

"Gupta sculpture though less ponderous than the ancient types, is still distinguished by its volume; its energy proceeds from within this form, and is static than kinetic, a condition that is reversed only in the medieval period. In all these respects, Gupta art marks the zenith in a perfectly normal cycle of artistic evolution." [51]

This continuity of the "perfectly normal cycle of artistic evolution" is best exemplified in the female figures and in the ideal of the feminine beauty. Zimmer has given a most evocative description of these ideals while discussing the goddess in her manifestation as pārvatī in the *Kalyāṇa Sundara* relief at Elephanta.

"The bride's figure, steeped in a deep earnestness, is stirred, beneath its outward demureness, by a most passionate emotion and incredible delight at this climax of her life ; for the union is here about to be fulfilled for which she has endured the most extreme ascetic austerities."

"Her form is slender and graceful, suffused by a quality of contentment, quietness and solemnity, as befits the supreme occasion ; yet she has retained something of the sweet heaviness-that more robust substantiality-which was the basic ingredient of the earlier ideal and which, as we shall see, remains to the end the fundamental Indian requirement of women. "[59] As part of this requirement must also be included the perfectly rounded breasts that crowd against each other. In this regard Elephanta Pārvatī is also a counterpart of the " Lady at Toilet " in Ajanta.[60] (figures 4 and 5)

Pārvatī represents definitely the aristocratic strain of femiminity which can be generally observed in all the female figures at Elephanta (which are mostly representations of Pārvatī). This is in contradistinction to the earthy fleshy females of Sanchi but especially those at Karle which are expressive of tribal abandon and peasant robustness.

The demure, aristocratically sophisticated Pārvatī appears again in the sinuous *tribhaṅga* in *Gaṅgādharamūrti* relief, and as the languorous curvilinear female side of the *Ardhanārīśwara*. In the *Umā—Maheśwara* relief, she is sulking and turns away her head towards her left giving a beautiful flexion to the torso. The seated Pārvatī in this relief and whatever remains of her in the badly mutilated relief of *Rāvaṇa* shaking *Kailāśa*, where she creeps towards Śiva in fright, she very closely resembles in her plastic qualities the *Mātṛkās* in Gwalior Museum,[61] which has not been noticed before and in whom a certain earthiness of the Kuśāṇa/Gupta types is still retained. (figs. 12, 13)

That the Elephanta Pārvatī falls between " Gupta " and " medieval " and perhaps is more "classical " rather than " medieval " would seem apparent if the Ellora *Gaṅgā* at *Rāmeśwara* cave is taken into consideration.[62] This allurnig figure has a voluptuous sensuality which had been sublimated during the Gupta-classical period. Such a growing voluptuous sensuality and attenuated sophistication is quite distinct from the earthy sensuality of pre-classical period. The former quality is to my mind one of the hall-marks of medieval female beauty and one vital point of consideration in distinguishing the " Classical " from the " Medieval ". Of course other features are the coiffure, ornaments, etc. The medieval coiffure consists of the hair tucked over the back of the head to form a large bun. The hairdo of Pārvatī at Elephanta does not follow this fashion at all.

The close similarity between the seated Pārvatī at Elephanta and the Gwalior *Mātṛkās* points to a stylistic relationship between this Deccan monument and the Gupta sculpture of *Madhyadeśa* (Mālwā) further substantiated by this observation that the tall, slim and slender ideal of the masculine physique as found in the *Vaiṣṇava* reliefs of Devgarh Temple is echoed in the manner the standing Śiva is represented in the Elephanta Gaṅgādhara Mūrti. Moreover the Deogarh reliefs are based on a dramatic portrayal of narrative, which, together with the earlier yet monumental *Varāha* relief at nearby Udaigiri, usher in the neo-Brāhmaṇical renascence in sculpture of which Elephanta was to become a major landmark.[63]

The effortless ease and relaxed manner with which Śiva is seated in the *Umā Maheśwara* and *Rāvaṇa Anugraha Mūrti* reliefs, who is poised over one haunch as he momentarily shifts his body towards Pārvatī in a tender concern is yet another triumph for the Elephanta sculptors. (Fig. 10) Śiva here represents a significant contrast against the rigidity of Dhumar Lena seated figures.

We may now turn to what is the most significant aspect of Elephanta i.e. the approach to space and the interactions between sculptural reliefs and architecture. Once again I would like to quote Zimmer who has been the most perceptive observer of the plastic qualities of Indian sculptures : Herein is also contained an appreciation of the magnificent *dwārapāla* figures.

" The artists who carved the solid walls and massive columns, inspired by the material out of which they were to bring forth their work of negative sculpture, turned the interior of mountain into a subterranean realm of apparitions in which all the figures are endowed with the qualities of the living rock from which they are formed. And this rock, as the artists believed, was part of the body of Mother Earth. Hence, though exhibiting the heroic physiques of the male principle, the door guardians make manifest equally the calm forbearance of the motherly female. Their bodies are at once vigorous and tender. They are, in fact, among the most sublime and magnificent divine beings in human form ever created anywhere, either in the Orient or in the West. " [64]

The genesis of the *Dwārapālas* can be traced from the acolyte figures which appear on either side of Buddha as in the one from Katra which matured into iconographic forms of Boddhisatvas *Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśwara* and *Vajrapāṇi.* [65] In Buddhist caves at Ajanta, Ellora and Auraṅgābād, it became the practice to represent them standing as guardian figures at the entrances of inner shrines containing seated meditating or teaching Buddhas. With the exception of the painted *Padmapāṇi* at Ajanta, the Elephanta *dwārapālas* surpass all such above-mentioned guardian figures in their sublimity and melting quality. They seem to be deeply lost in the blissful experience of the presence of the Lord of Gods, Maheśwara, sweetly welcoming the incoming bhakta into the heavenly abode as it were. What a phantastic evolutionary development is marked by these *dwārapāla* guardians around the *liṅga* sanctum when seen in comparison to the stiffly positioned door guardians at Pithal Khora caves of the *Hīnayāna* times. [66]

The concept of space in Elephanta reliefs is unique and needs analysis. Besides, hardly any scholar has seen sculpture of Elephanta as relief compositions and no adequate analysis has been given of these as problem of relief compositions in evolutionary sequences tracing the development of approach to relief from earlier centuries. If the reliefs at Sāñchī and Bārhut are very extensive and wide spread, yet their scale is " small ". As has been often observed, they are derived from the tradition of wood and ivory carving, consequently they show a love for detail and at this stage the primary interest on the part of the sculptors was in the "narrative".[67] It is perhaps at Amarāvatī, that the size increases and they assume characteristics proper of stone carving.

The reliefs at Elephanta are truly monumental, not only because of their *larger than life* size but also the way the reliefs are absorbed by architecture. The subterranean space scooped out through the rock which comprises the shrine, permeats through these reliefs, which, in their turn extend out from the live rock into this very space. The protrusion of the volumes stretches to the maximum that the depth of the niche can permit without separating and isolating the figures from the rock surface. Each relief is carved out in a niche which is deep, framed by massive pillars, to serve as lateral boundaries and as protruding extensions. It is within these two extreme limits that the volumes and the depths are regulated. It is in these aspects that the architectural space impinges on to the reliefs.

The figures in the reliefs inevitably emerge from the floor upwards suggesting their terrestrial position as they squarely stand on the base, for instance in the *Gaṅgādhara* and *Kalyāṇasundara* mūrti reliefs. This is evident even where the lower portion of the reliefs is damaged. In the Rāvaṇa-anugraha and Umā-Maheśwara reliefs, which are facing each other, the base happens to be the mountain *i e. Kailāśa*, as the matrimonial home of Śiva and Pārvatī as *dampatī*. The upper portions of the reliefs are invariably filled with clusters of "*Khecara*" figures hovering in air on either side of the principal deity. These represent *Vidyādharas*, subsidiary gods and other beings from the aerial or celestial space giving the upper portions the connotation of the sky. Thus each relief combines the terrestrial and celestial worlds. In the *Ardhanārī* relief an impressive host of such celestial beings throngs overhead as if rejoicing upon the most beautiful and lofty bisexual image of Śiva.

In terms of the features of relief in European sculpture, relievo stiacciato indicates figures in low relief behind which space is made to recede, whereas the actual relief remains shallow, while in Baroque reliefs, figure groups in deep relief enveloped all around with space, extend out of the background as far as the architecture permits. In Elephanta, in spite of the earthly connotation of the space as analysed earlier, it has to be observed that the physical space, indeed the whole niche, is transformed into conceptual space or it may be termed as the "infinite void" to accomodate the "divine vision". However, the main protagonists, Śiva and Pārvatī or *Ardhanārī* accompanied by the Nandi bull, exist almost in free standing groups as in Baroque sculpture. Another parallel between the two sculptural approaches is in that the niche is no longer taken as a foil, the shadow in it being far more important since the darkness of the recess unites with the shadows of the figure. (fig. 3) This is another point to illustrate how architecture and sculpture are made to collaborate both at

Elephanta and in the Baroque style. Light and shadow together play a very important role in Elephanta sculptures in the environmental context. Yet the actual treatment of plastic form in these sculptures is unlike that in Baroque. Instead of form submerging in light and dark, quiet surfaces and self contained contour lines are essential elements here although sculpture as an art of corporeal masses knows no line. In this sense, Elephanta sculptures are "classical." In contrast to Baroque, Elephanta sculptures have been visualized with a compelling principal view which is that from the front. This is yet another aspect it shares with what Wolfflin has characterised as "Classical".[68]

Having established the features of Elephanta reliefs, it is now possible to see them as an advance over the Ajanta and Ellora Buddhist reliefs which are often frontal and planar, as examples could be cited, the Bodhisattva guardian figures already discussed earlier and the Littany of Avalokiteśvara reliefs.[69] Here the principal figure stands like an icon in *samabhaṅga* stance and the eight perils together with the lateral figures are formally arranged in vertically aligned compartments with no psychological and spatial relationship established among them. Thls has been precisely the achievement of the sculptors at Elephanta who have used the significant moments of the mythological episodes to determine the figure groups, their positions and stances and to serve as psychological and spatial linking factors among them. The high point of such a preoccupation fully developed to the utmost possibilities is arrived at in the magnificent "Rāvaṇa Shaking Kailāśa" at Kailaśanātha cave of Ellora. Thus, it could be mourning an obvious conclusion that Elephanta reliefs may be seen as precedents for some of those at Ellora Brāhmaṇical caves.

At this point, I would like to put forth another observation which is that Elephanta reliefs serve as a bridge between Ajanta on one hand and the Brāhmaṇical caves at Ellora on the other hand, that is to say, sculptors of Elephanta profitted from the Ajanta experience and passed it on to the next generation. This will be substantiated below. In what is among the latest caves at Ajanta (cave No. 26) lies the most serene *Parinirvāṇa* relief, wherein all the episodes, though arranged in compartments and dominated by the eternally dormant Buddha, are unified in that moment when the Tathāgata's soul is released and soars heavenwards, while the mourning monks and lay followers form a long row underneath Buddha's couch, his most favourite and faithful pupil Ānanda is seated near his master's feet completely overwhelmed with grief.[70]

Next to this final event of Buddha's life and in the same cave has been carved another epochal episode representing the moment of his achieving the long sought "enlightenment" just when he makes the earth-touching gesture as Māra vainly tries his utmost to frighten Gautama by the show of brute strength in the form of his heavily armed host of demons (depicted on either side of his seated figure) and failing which he sends his daughters to tempt him who are shown below Buddha's seat. One of them is shown in the centre in a provocative dancing posture, who develops into Pārvatī of the Elephanta Kalyāṇasundara and transforms into luscious female at Auraṅgābād.[71]

The "Temptation of Māra" is a two-tier composition, although planar in relief and rather looking congested, yet it is this scheme which was further developed at Elephanta in the "Rāvaṇa shaking Kailāśa" and "Umā-Maheśwara" reliefs with greater sense of space and articulation of bodies. (figs. 10 and 11) Another example of the two-tier composition is the Lakulīśa Yogeśwara. Once again the great "Rāvaṇa shaking Kailāsa" relief at Ellora may be cited as the grandest of such "two-tier compositions". The earliest of these can be traced to the one at Karle called "Buddha at *Gradrakuta*" or "Transfiguration of Buddha" which is comparatively shallow, basically symmetrical and entirely frontal.[72] The lotus seated Yegeswara similar to the manner Buddha is represented at *Grudhrakūta* or in the "Miracle at Śrāwasti" is not only found at Elephanta, where he is placed opposite Śiva Nateśwara, but also at the *Kailāśa* cave opposite the Bhairava and at Dumar Lena in Lakuliśa form facing Naṭeśwara.[73]

Taking into account the linearity of the treatment of the plastic form in the Elephanta reliefs, if they are visualised as linear compositions, for that is how they must have been designed by the sculptors to begin with, then we have one more of the similarities with Ajanta and this time with the frescoes. Again it can be construed that what was gained by the painters at Ajanta was put into practice in high relief by the sculptors at Elephanta, for, Ajanta frescoes presupose a tremendous feeling for space and volume on the part of their creators.[74] In both the places the central character or the main protagonists are given dominant positions in the compositions using the hierarchical principle. The subsidiary figures or actions are grouped on either side of these protagonists and the space manipulated around them, in which they are contained. It is only logical that it should be first attempted on the two-dimensional wall before working it out in the relief, so also the flowing linear rhythms of the body contours which bring together all those elements disposed in space and inter-weave them into a total all-pervading organic unity. To give some examples of Ajanta paintings containing above-mentioned features, one may mention Buddha Preaching in the Congregation (cave ix), *Haṁsa Jātaka*, *Visvantara Jātaka* (cave xvii) and *Vidhurapaṇḍita Jātaka* (cave 2).[75]

In the murals and in the reliefs (one may bear in mind the *Kalyāṇasundara Mūrti*) those figures which are positioned on the right hand side of the main protagonists are shown facing them revealing the right shoulder and parts of the body towards the onlooker. Likewise, those standing and facing the central

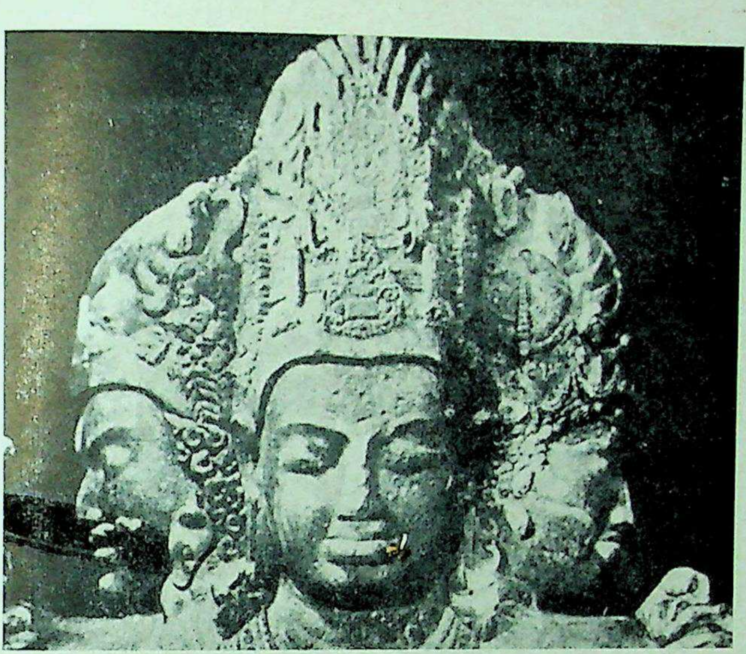


Fig. 1
Elephanta—Maheśamūrti (Sadāśiva)

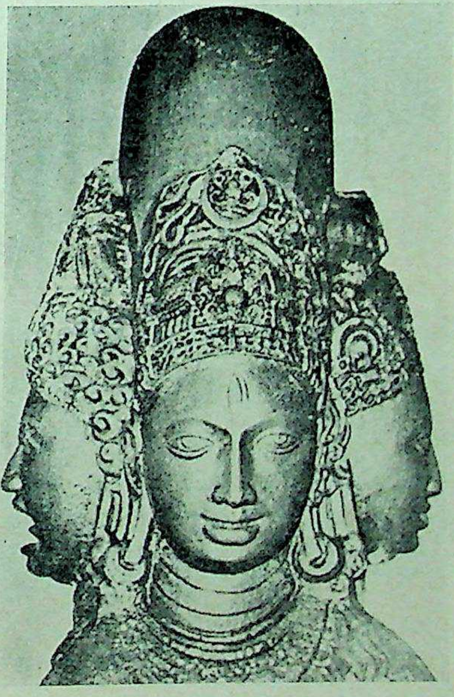


Fig. 2
Nachna Kuthar—Caturmukha Liṅgam

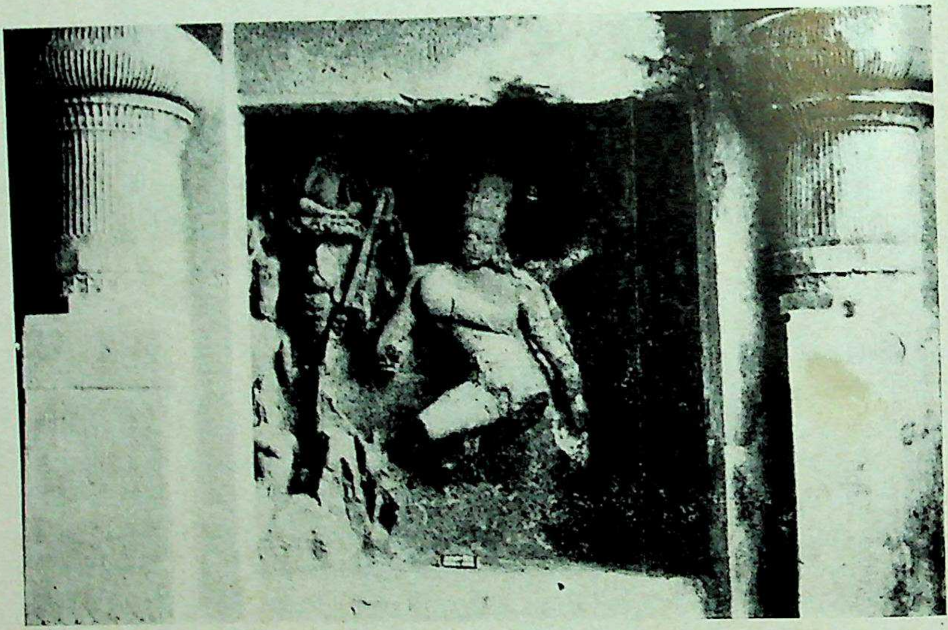


Fig. 3
Elephanta—Naṭarāja in the niche within lateral columns

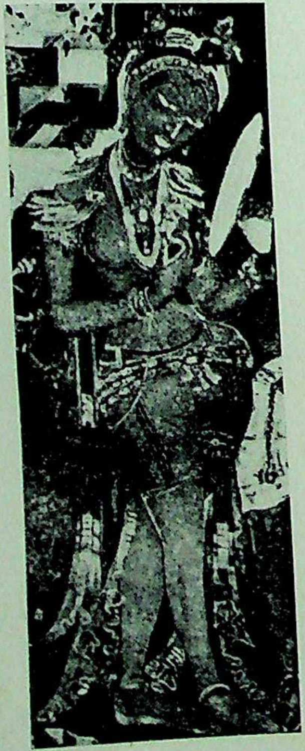


Fig. 4
Ajanta—Cave no. 17—Lady at Toilet

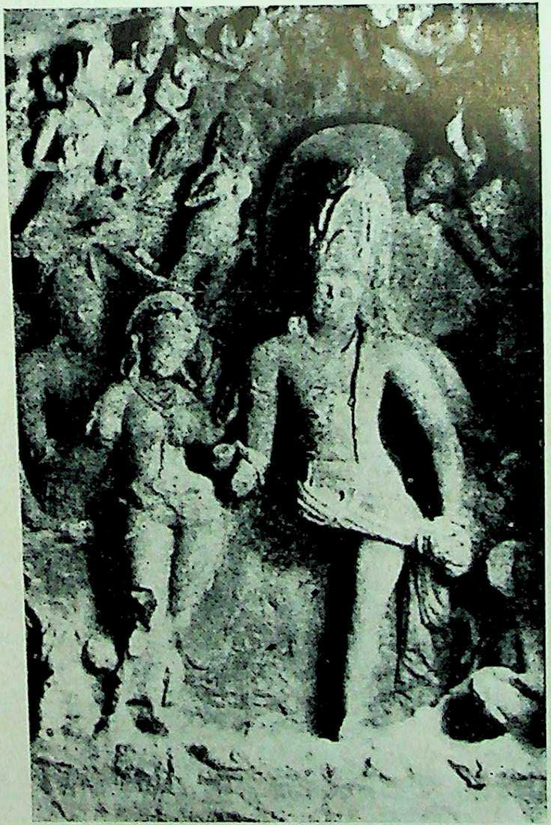


Fig. 5
Elephanta—Kalyāṇasundaramūrti

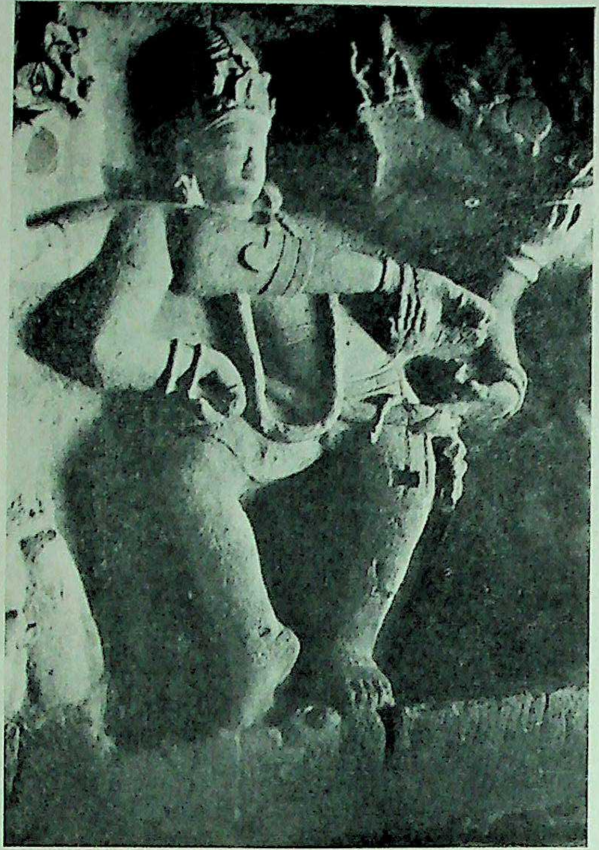


Fig. 6
Ellora, Naṭarāja (Dhumar Lena, Cave 29)

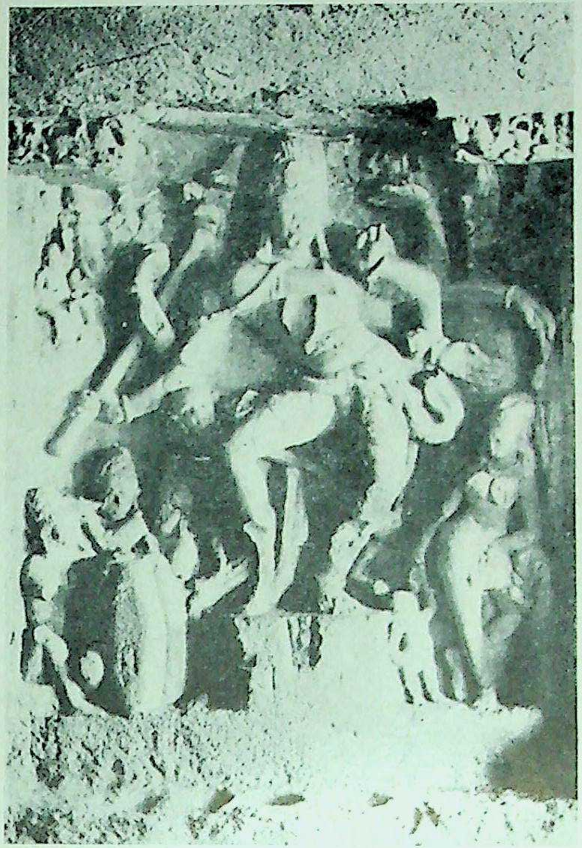


Fig. 7
Ellora, Naṭarāja (Rāvaṇa Kī Khāī, Cave 14)

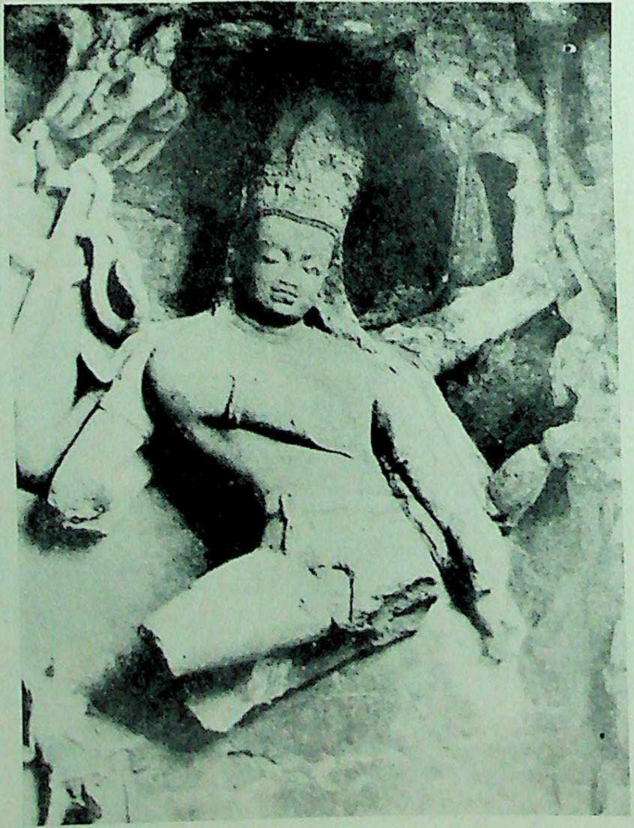


Fig. 8
Elephanta, Naṭarāja (detail)

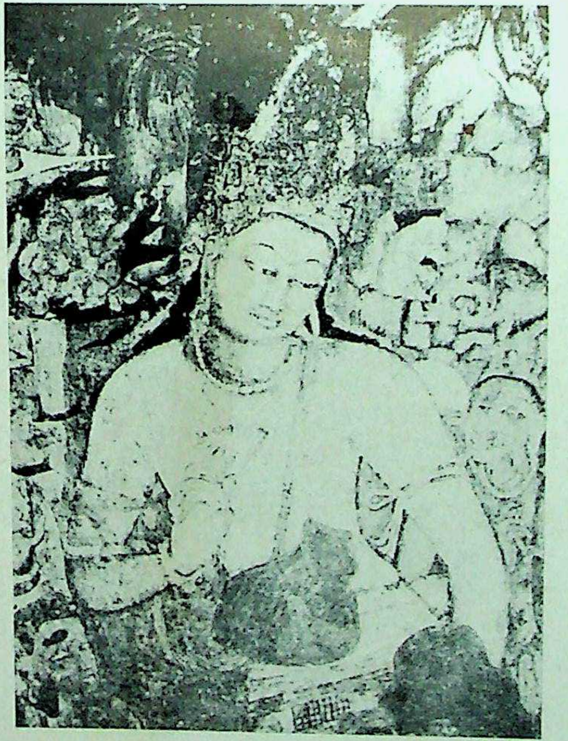


Fig. 9
Ajanta, Avalokiteśvara Padmapāṇi (Cave no. 1)

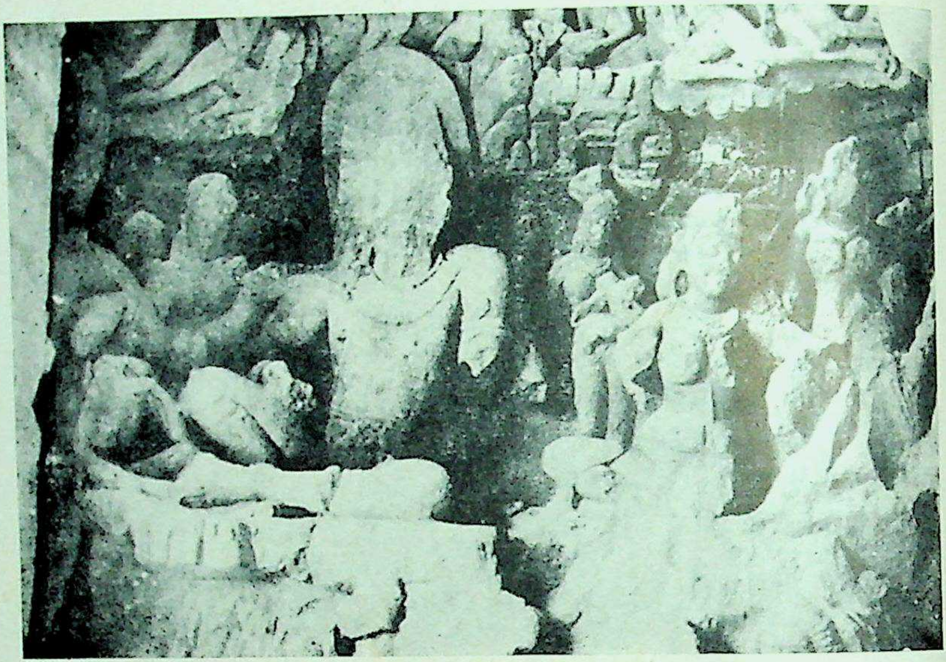


Fig. 10
Elephanta, Umā-Maheśvara

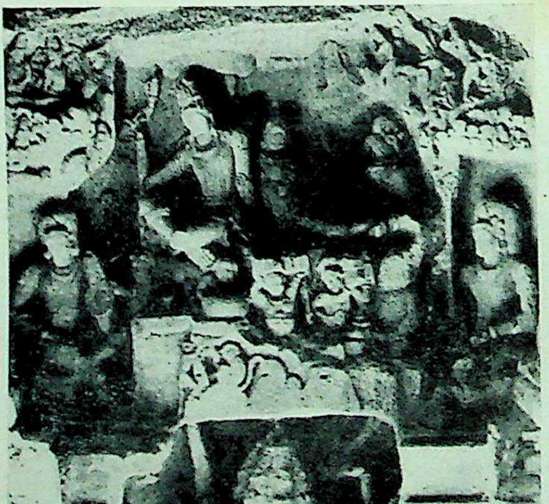


Fig. 11
Ellora, Rāvaṇānugrahamūrti (Kailāśa, Cave 16)

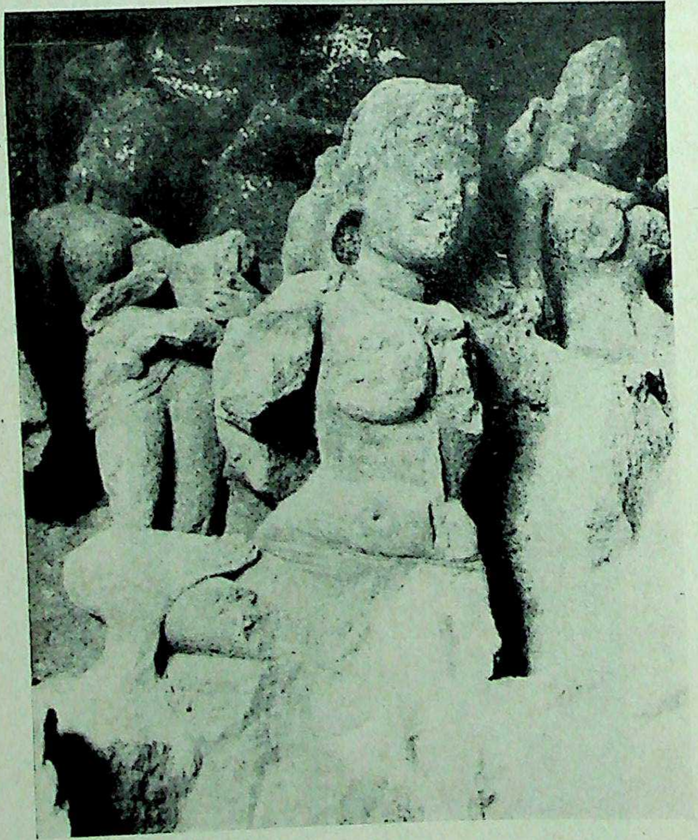


Fig. 12
Elephanta, Pārvatī (detail from fig no 10)

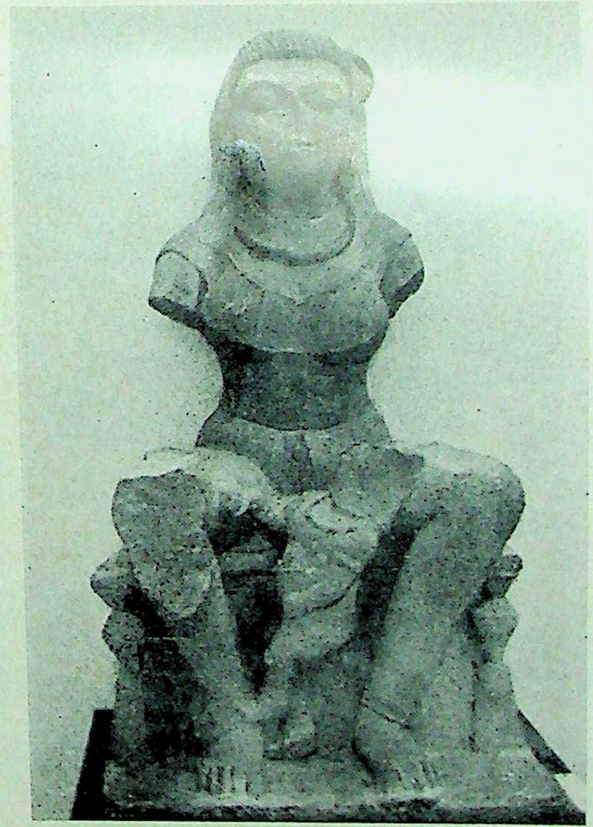


Fig. 13
Besnagar, Mātṛkā (National Museum) (Gupta period

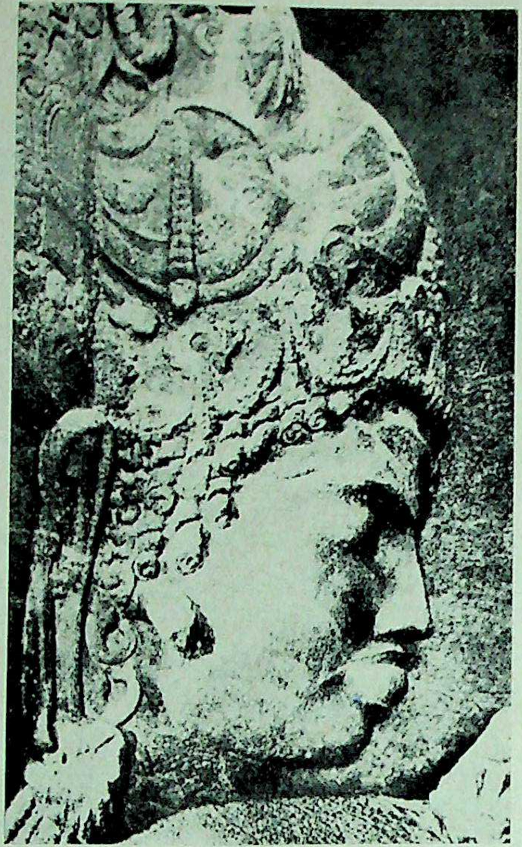


Fig 14

Elephanta—Umā-Vāmadeva (detail from fig. 1)

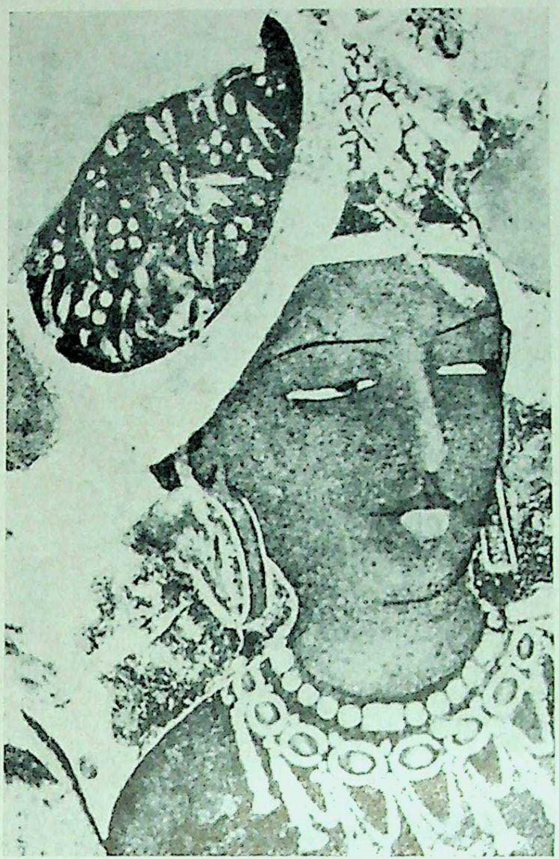


Fig. 15

Ajanta—Apsarā (detail, Cave no. 17)

All photos are by the author excepting nos. 1, 2, 4, 9, 14 and 15 which are by courtesy of *Archaeological Survey of India*

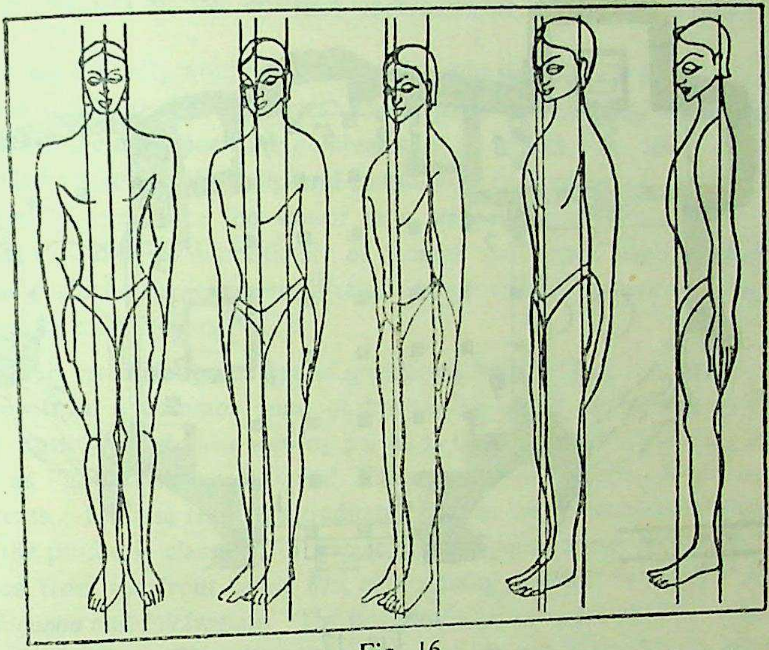


Fig. 16

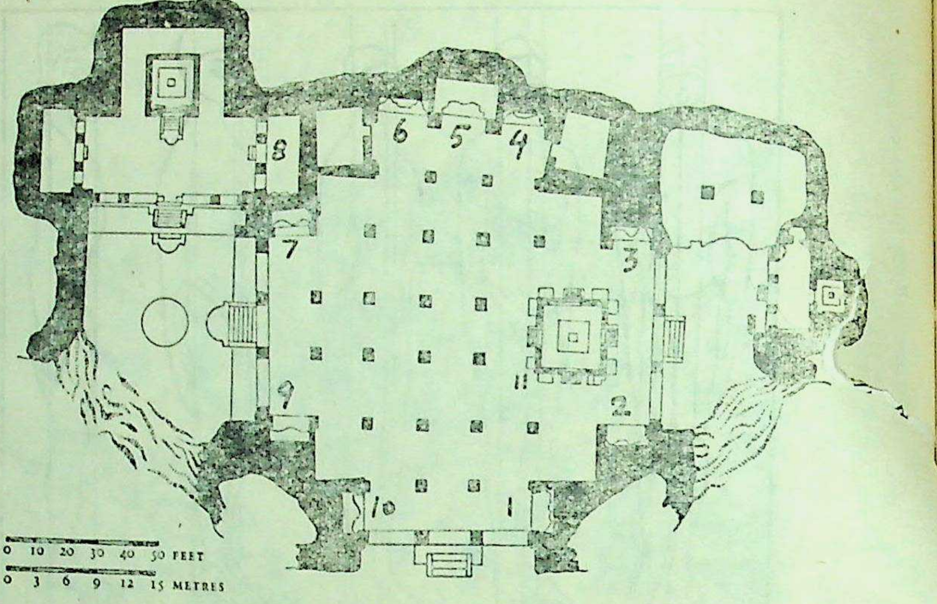
Conjectured postures on the basis of Śilpa texts representing from left to right, Ṛju, Ardharju, Śacika, Ardhavilocana, Pārśvagata (Courtesy : Ashok Bhattacharya, Chitralakshana, Calcutta 1973).

Fig. 17

Elephanta—Floor plan
Sculptural Reliefs :
1. Naṭarāja, 2. Andhakāsuravadhamūrti, 3. Kalyāṇasundaramūrti, 4. Gaṅgādharamūrti, 5. Maheśamūrti, 6. Ardhanārīśvara, 7. Umā-Maheśvara, 8. Sapta-Māṭṛkā Shrine, 9. Rāvaṇānugrahamūrti, 10. Śiva Yogeśvara.
. Courtesy : Burgess J., *The Rock Temples of Elephanta*)

Fig. 18

Ellora, Dhumar Lena (Cave 29), Floor Plan
Sculptural Reliefs :
1. Rāvaṇānugrahamūrti, 2. Umā-Maheśvara,
3. Kalyāṇasundaramūrti, 4. Lakulīśa,
5. Naṭarāja, 6. Andhakāsuravadhamūrti.
(Courtesy : Fergusson. J. and Burgess J., *Cave Temples of India*)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0 3 6 9 12 15 METRES

Fig. 17

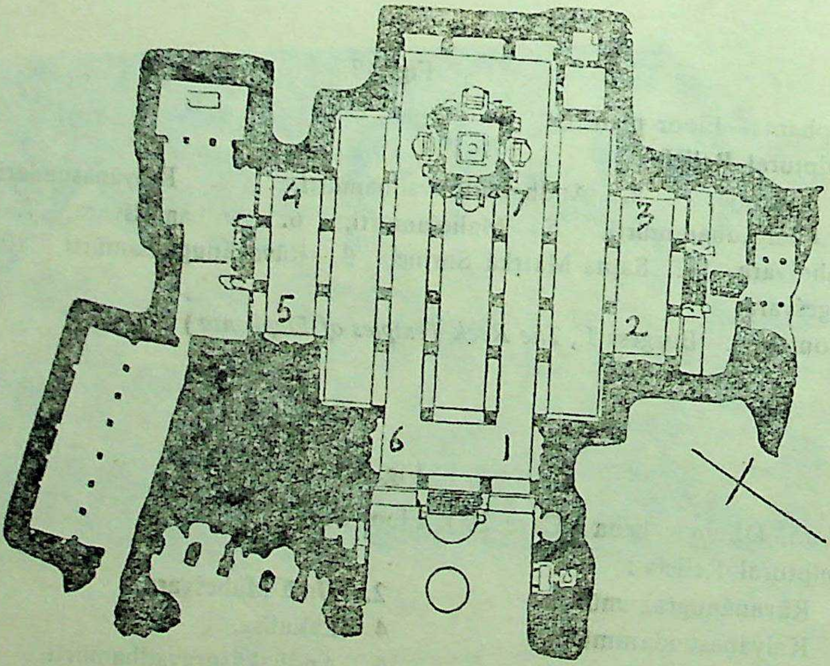

Fig. 18

character on his left, would hide the right hand side of their bodies while their left side is visible to the onlooker. Those parts of the body which face the onlooker are the most portruding volumes in the reliefs. In other words, the sculptor has visualized the sculptural ensemble in each niche as it would three-dimensionally appear to the viewer in a staged performance. They can be compared with the live dramatic art of theatre and dance, such as Kathakali where the performance is staged, directed and provided with space, background, choreography and rhythm.[76]

In their visualization of figural groupings, both the painters and the sculptors drew from a common fund of knowledge about the human body, the different postures and their viewing points as they are described in such ancient treatises as *Viṣṇudharamottara*[77] and *Nalacampū*,[78] which are almost contemporary texts. In these texts, the graduated shift in the contours from the front view to the profile is classified in five stages beginning from the straight erect body seen from the front called *Ṛju*, others being named as *Ardharju*, *Sacika*, *Ardhavilocanna* and *Pārśvagata*. The last stands for the pure profile. (fig. 16). It is also important as Shivaramamurti observes that the Śilpa texts do not make very much difference between actual poses and views of the same postures.[79].

Yet another relationship that Elephanta has with Ajanta is significantly in the close resemblance between Śiva as *Naṭeśvara* and *the Avalokiteśvara Padmapāṇi* (cave I) (figs. 8 and 9). Could we surmise that the former is derived from the latter? Only the upper portion of both these images is well preserved so that even the dancing Śiva appears as if in *tribhaṅga* with a beautifully flexioned torse like that of the *Padampāṇi*. The leftward sway in the hip of *Padmapāṇi* is echoed not only in the two standing Pārvatīs at Elephanta but also in the *Ardhanārī* where the stance is so loosened as to appear in dance posture as in the Aihole Ravalphadi cave.[80] The dancing Śiva does not represent the *tāṇḍava* but is in *Lalitam* posture of the *Lāsya* variety. A fuller idea of its complete form and posture can be had in cave 14 (Rāvaṇa Kī Khāī).[81] But from the line of my reasoning it would seem that the Elephanta *Naṭeśvara* is among the first of these rock reliefs, variations of which appear subsequently at Badāmī, Ellora cave 14, (*Ravaṇa Kī Khai*) cave 21 (*Rameśwara*) and cave 29 (Dhumar Lena) (figs. 6, 7, 8).

Both the Padmapāṇi and the Dancing Śiva have in common a benign, compassionate and inward-looking countenance. Continuing further with the comparison of facial types, it may be noted that the refined, aristocratic solemn face of the *Apsarā* in Ajanta[82] bedecked with jewellery and a stylish coiffure might have inspired the images of *Umī/Vāmdeva* i.e. the female face on the left of the *Maheśamūrti* as well as the feminine side of *Ardhanārī*'s face. (figs, 14, 15). Interestingly enough, there is a close similarity between the central face of the *Maheśamūrti* as well as all the seven faces of the Parel Śiva in their repose, physiognomy and facial types. Similar also are the faces of the sculptures at Aurangabad whose feminine ideal however, is too sensual than Elephanta. In the case of the facial resemblances, the lips of all of them are thick while the lower lip is protruding even in the face of the Ajanta *Padmapāṇi*.

The Dhumar Lena problem may be tackled now i.e. Elephanta vis-a-vis cave 29 of Ellora, because it has been tied up with the question of the dating of Elephanta. The identical floor plans of both these fully Śaivite shrines have been noted by many scholars before.[83] (figs. 17, 18). Both contain *sandhara liṅga* shrines with dvārapālas on all the four entrances. The reliefs cover same themes as those at Elephanta with the exception of *Ardhanārī* and *Gaṅgādhara* reliefs. Of course, the major difference is in that Dhumar Lena does not have what is the most magnificent aspect of Elephanta i.e. the tripleheaded image of *Maheśamūrti*.

This is also note-worthy that as the visitor enters the cave at Elephanta he soon confronts the *Maheśamūrti* image of which he becomes aware only gradually and aligned to the same wall flanking *Maheśamūrti* are the reliefs depicting *Ardhanārī* and *Gaṅgādhara* together forming a vast and continuons tier. The *liṅgam* shrine here is on the right as one enters but at Dhumar Lena it is placed exactly opposite the entrance. This cave does not have that compelling mystery and the feeling of being hypnotically drawn within its expanse. Therefore Dhumar Lena can in no case be regarded as the source for Elephanta. Rather it can then be surmised that Elephanta was accomplished earlier and Dhumar Lena being only an audacious attempt at duplicating it. Moreover an interesting evidence has been pointed out that the *Kalyāṇasundaramūrti* relief at Dhumar Lena follows Āgamic texts whereas its counterpart at Elephanta is based on Paurāṇic descriptions and that the *Purāṇa*s were being replaced by Āgamic texts which had began exerting their influence on Hindu iconography from about 8th Century.[84]

Qualitatively Dhumar Lena sculptures are uneven although stylistically quite consistent. These reliefs appear disproportionately large and the figures suffer from giganticism in their crude heaviness.[85] At the same time they are frontal and possess an archaic rigidity which becomes more of a mannerism totally different from the naivette which is associated with the outcome of a fresh beginning. Inspite of their bulk, the space remains shallow. In photographs, when these reliefs are seen in reduced scale, the figures in them appear so curiously doll-like.[86] (fig. 6). Perhaps these reliefs are rather the work of a crazy idiosyncratic master since Dhumar Lena sculptures themselves are quite unique in the whole range of Ellora sculptures. By contrast, Elephanta sculptures are consistently of a high quality and the products of a single-minded vision, which I am inclined to think, must be due to a master mind who should be regarded as a towering genius under whose inspiration scores of craftsmen must have given their best.[87]

Elephanta reliefs combine narrative and episodic elements together with the aspect of " *Darśana* ". The presentation of the episodes is like " *Darśana* "— as the Gods would appear to the observer or the worshipping bhakta. This idea of " *Drasana* " is different from the usual situation of a bhakta visiting a temple to have a *darśana* of the god who is in the form of a deity, since Elephanta sculptures are much more than mere iconographic deities. The sculptors have heavily drawn on the Purāṇic myths, it is in this sense that the narrative and the episodic aspect is more compelling than the rigid adherence to iconographic prescriptions and ensembles. The sculptors seem to have been urged on by the aspiration to see the gods as if they have become alive in episodic situations which, though taking place in mythological world, are yet given terrestrial setting as e.g. the mountaineous foreground in the *Rāvaṇa-anugraha* and as in the *Umā Maheśwara* reliefs, as well as in human situations as the marriage ceremony and the bashful contentment of Pārvatī in *Kalyāṇa Sundara*, and the feigning of feminine jealousy by her as Śiva proceeds to receive *Gaṅgā* over his *Jaṭābhāra* in the *Gaṅgādhara* relief. Likewise in the *Umā Maheśwara* relief, noteworthy is Pārvati's sulking posture during the well-known "dice quarrel", whose gesture, since her arms are broken, can be guessed by referring to the similar relief at Ellora cave 21, in which she raises her right hand in the characteristic '*vismaya mudrā*', as if she is mocking at Śiva whom she has just defeated at the dice game. Despite the representation of Śiva as *Mahāyogī* and the Supreme God and his absorbtion within him of the Śakti, Pārvatī has been given equal prominence.

Pārvatī appears in five of the eight reliefs besides the *Maheśamūrti*. She appears in all the four reliefs on this wall beginning from the marriage scene followed by the *Gaṅgādhara mūrti*. In the Maheśamūrti, she is represented as only one of the faces but she is triumphant in the *Ardhanārīśvara* due to the dominant female side just as Śiva is triumphant in the *Maheśwara mūrti*. *Gaṅgādhara mūrti* relief is much more than an iconic form of Śiva which rather narrates the story of the "Descent of the *Gaṅgā*" emphasising the discomfiture of Pārvatī as her husband pays attention to another woman.[88] The conceit of the demure Pārvatī is so elegantly portrayed through her downward gaze and a pronounced leftward sway answering the concept of *Lāvaṇya* according to Sanskrit Poetics. Indeed, the *tribhaṅga* positions of each of these two figures in opposite directions creates a wide distance between the two as if they are drifting apart, yet, these very stances result in a rhomboid shaped parallelogram so as to once again establish a unity between the two figures. It is remarkable as to how such monumental relief was created based on a poetic conceit. This brings out Pārvatī's image as an enticing, heavenly *apsarā* as depicted in the *purāṇas* as well as in the reliefs.

In a recent mythological study, the mutual attraction between Śiva and Pārvatī has been interestingly interpreted which has a bearing on their depiction in the Elephanta reliefs. Śiva is engaged in *tapas* because he desires *Satī* (after *Satī* burnt herself to death in the *Dakṣa* episode). Meanwhile, Pārvatī (who is *Satī* reborn) is engaged in penances so that Śiva may consent to marry her. Tapas is performed to free one self from desire, yet Śiva is absorbed in the thoughts of *Devī* even though it needs the intervention of *Kāma* (Desire incarnate) and Pārvatī's beauty to persuade Śiva to marry her. This is the motif of an ascetic seduced by *Apsarā* which runs through the *Śiva-Pārvatī* myths.[89]

Elephanta sculptures are not mere *pratimās* but they admirably combine iconic form with idea and image in the sense expounded by Niharranjan Ray.[90] The credit of this achievement must necessarily be given to the genius of an individual master who could be named as the Elephanta master as was the accomplishment of the Śārnāth master in creating the Sārnāth Buddhas.[91] For achieving such aesthetically marvellous integration of form with content, of image with idea, for the subtle nuances and variations of expressions of moods, Elephanta (together with *Brāhmaṇical*, Ellora) represents a high water mark in the development in Indian sculpture surpassing even Egyptian and Greek sculptural traditions since in the former, symbolic references are not integrated into the sculptural form whereas in the latter, sculpture is deprived of all symbolism.

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6. *Ibid.*
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8. R. Von Leyden—Notes on the stylistic Development of the Sculpture in Elephanta, Marg, Sept., 1960.
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20. This and other *Āgamic* texts which contain material pertaining to *Śaiva* Iconography have been referred to by Gopinath Rao in his Elements of Hindu Iconography.
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30. Kramrisch S.—Art of India.
31. (i) Shivaramamurti C.—*Śatarudrīya.*
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33. Shah U. P.—The Sculptures of Samlaji and Roda, Baroda Museum Bulletin, 1960.
34. See the various *Mukhaliṅgas* at Udaigiri, Nachna Kuthara, Bhita, Bhumra, Koh etc.
35. This image is reproduced in "The Sacred and Secular in Indian Art", University of California, Santa Barbara, 1974 and in Harle, Gupta Sculpture. Recently S. W. Siddiqui has discovered what appears to be an earlier, Kuṣāṇ version of the same image.
36. Shivaramamurti, C.—Nataraja.
37. A. K. Coomaraswamy in his 'Dance of Śiva' essay for the first time gave a cogent interpretation of the representation of cosmic dance of Śiva in the *Naṭarāja* images.
38. For illustrations see Shivaramamurti, Op.cit.
39. *Ibid.*
40. The torso is "quivering with life" as had been observed by Michaelangelo's contemporaries in his sculptures and paintings especially the drawing of the back of a male torso. See Vasari, Lives of most Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects, London, 1912-14.
41. For some other versions see—Aschwin Lippe, Early Chalukian Icons, Artibus Asiae, Vol. XXXIV, 4, 1972.
42. Many of them are reproduced in Shivaramamurti, South Indian Bronzes, New Delhi, 1963.
43. The story of "Rāvaṇa Shaking Kailāśa" is told in the Rāmāyaṇa.
44. Ray Niharranjan—Idea and Image.
45. Andre Malraux also has paid his homage to the Maheśamūrti in La Sculpture Mondiale, Paris, 1953.
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47. Bannerji, R. D., Bas reliefs of Badami, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 25, 1928.
48. Gupte R. S.—Aihole, Bombay 1967.
49. (i) Coomaraswamy A. K.—History of India and Indonesian Art, New York, 1927.

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(ii) 5000 years of Indian Art. For a study of Vākāṭaka inscriptions, see V. V. Mirashi, Vākāṭaka Rājavaṃśa Kā Itihāsa Tathā Abhilekha (Hindi) Varanasi, 1964. From the inscriptions, it is established that Ajanta, Cave XVI and the nearby Gototkach cave were commissioned during the rule of Vākāṭaka King, Hariṣena, towards the end of the 5th century.

56. H. Shastri—A Guide to Elephanta. Promod Chandra in his Elephanta, Bombay, revised edition, 1960, has agreed with Shastri's contention of early date yet he placed it as late as early seventh century.

57. Spink, Walter—Ajanta to Ellora, Ann. Arbor 1967 and also Marg, March 1967. (He has articles on Elephanta, Jogeshwari and the Kalachuris which are not accessible to the present author.) Spink and Muriel Neff, op.cit, have done elaborate comparative analysis of the plans and pillar types in the Deccan Cave Shrines, consideration of which has been left out by the present author. But, however, the author would like to acknowledge the stimulating though brief discussion he had with Walter Spink on his researches during his visit to Baroda.

58. Coomaraswamy A. K.—History of India and Indonesian Art.

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60. Illustration in R. S. Gupte ; Ajanta, Ellora, Aurangabad ; Bombay, 1962.

61. Reproduced in Harle, Gupta sculpture.

62. Reproduced in Gupte ; Ajanta, Ellora, Aurangabad.

63. Attention to such qualities at Deogarh, which is a 5th century monument, is drawn by Benjamin Rowland, op. cit.

64. Zimmer-op. cit.

65. Coomaraswamy, A. K.—Origin of the Buddha Image.

66. Deshpande M. N.—Rockcut caves of Pithalkhora in the Deccan. Ancient India, No. 15, 1959.
67. Marshall and Foucher—The Monuments of Sanchi ; London, n.d.
68. Wolflin. H.—Principles of Art History, New York, n.d.
69. Gupte—Ajanta, Ellora, Aurangabad.
70. Reproduced in G. Yazdani and others—Ajanta, 3 vols. Oxford, 1931-46.
71. For illustrations see Amita Ray—Aurangabad Caves.
72. Coomaraswamy A. K.—Elements of Buddhist Iconography, Cambridge 19 5.
73. It seems that the Śaivism prevalent in Western India and Deccan during the centuries when Elephanta and other Brāhmaṇical monuments were constructed was based on the Pāśupata cult, the founder of which was Lakulīsa who is mentioned in *Vāyu Purāṇa* For further details, see R. D. Bhandarkar, Annual Report, Archaeological survey of India, 1906-7 ; and K. D. Panigrahi, Sculptural Representations of Lakulīśa and other Pāśupata Teachers—Journal of Indian History, XXXVIII, 3 (1960) Representations of Lakulīśa are carved on the reliefs over the entrances to the Jogeshwari caves in Bombay which are contemporary of Elephanta. (Reproduced in Marg, Sept. 1960). There are also enough evidences of Gupta and Vākātaka ruling families as worshippers of Śiva, especially from their " Praśasti " inscriptions.
74. Volume and space are already implied in the way painting is referred to as *Chitrabhāṣa*, Chitra meaning sculpture proper. (*Śukranītisāra.*)
75. Yazdani—Plates XVIII, XVII, XXIII, and XXXV.
76. R. Von Leyden, op.cit., see also Kapila Vatsyayan, Classical Indian Dance in Literature and the Arts, New Delhi, 1968.
77. Viṣṇudharamottara Purāṇa, ed. Priyabala Shah.
78. Shivaramamurti—Artist's jottings from the Nalacampu of Trivikrama, Journal of Oriental Research, Vol. VIII. 1934. The important topic of the different stances of the human figure and their representation in painting and sculpture is a recurring theme in the ancient *Śilpa* texts, starting from Viṣṇudharamottara, Abhilaṣitārtha—Cintāmanī etc. See also Aśoka Bhattacharya, *Chitralakṣaṇa*, a treatise on Indian Painting, Calcutta, 1974.
79. Shivaramamurti—op.cit.
80. The sculptures in the Raval Phadi cave must be dated after 654/5 when Vikramāditya I was able to restore the *Chālukyan* Empire following the defeat at the hands of the *Pallavas.* See Aschwin Lippe—Early Chalukyan Icons, Artibus Asiae, Vol. XXXIV.4, 1972. The Ardhanārī at Elephanta must be regarded as an earlier example of the image with a loosened stance.
81. Shivaramamurti—Naṭarāja.
82. Yazdani—Ajanta, cave XVIII, Plate LXXII.

83. (i) Srinivasan K. R.—Temples of South India, New Delhi, 1971.
    (ii) Muriel Neff, op-cit.

84. Sen Gupta R.—The Panels of Kalyanasundaramurti at Ellora, Lalitkala, No. 7, 1960.

85. Even Aschwin Lippe, op cit, has observed that Dhumar Lena Naṭeśa is awakwardly short and thick limbed ......

86. See reproductions in Gupte ; Ajanta, Ellora, Aurangabad.

87. I am assuming a free mobility of craftsmen who seem to have been basically itinerant and thereby helped in dissemination of art forms and styles as proved by R. N. Misra in Ancient Artists and Art Activity, Simla, 1975. Such an assumption is also made by Goetz—op.cit. and K. R. Srinivasan, op.cit.

88. The other woman is Gaṅgā who according to some Purāṇas was already married to Śiva. See Wendy O'Flaherty—Asceticism and Eroticism in the Mythology of Śiva. The "Synoptic" and "Iconic" depiction of the Gangādharamūrti in the Ravalphadi cave at Aihole also serves as a contrast to the episodic narrative aspect of its representation at Elephanta.

89. Wendy O'Flaherty—op.cit.

90. Ray Niharranjan—Idea and Image.

91. Rosenfield J.—"On the Dated carvings of Saranath", *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XXVI, No. 1 (1963).

SURAT : PORTRAIT OF A CITY BASED ON SEVENTEENTH CENTURY EUROPEAN TRAVEL ACCOUNTS

By

LOTIKA VARADARAJAN, Baroda

Location and description of the City of Surat

There are diverse explanations as to the origin of Surat and the limits of its location but during the period under review, 1650 to 1700, the city stood as the centre of an imperial *sarkar* comprising 31 sub-divisions which lay within the *Suba* of Ahmedabad.[1] Surat was the nerve centre but because of geographical exigencies it was separated from its port, Suvali by a distance of two leagues. The port was 7 miles in length and 1¼ miles in width and ships could anchor at depths of seven, eight and nine fathoms according to choice. Suvali rose to importance in 1623. It began to decline in 1666 and after 1777 it ceased to function as a port.[2] The river at Surat was capable of bearing ships of 1000 tons burthen but because of the sands at the estuary such ships could sail upto Surat only at the time of the full moon tide. At other times, as the English traveller Roe noted, only a " pinnace of 60 tons which draws 7′ to 8′ water can navigate the river ". Goods could be brought from Suvali to Surat either by road transport or by means of small barks sailing up the river. The customs houses were located at Surat, the administrative centre, and, in order to prevent evasion of customs duty, it was made obligatory for all traders to send their entire consignment of goods to Surat without off loading any portion at Suvali. Only Europeans were exempted from this rule. As a result, after the year 1660 riverine traffic increased a great deal.[3] Foreigners from Europe were very active participants in the trade of Surat. Like the Chinese pilgrims of yore they took considerable care in describing the locale in which they found themselves and the picture of Surat which emerges from their works is as much a testimony to their activity in this part of India as any involvement in trade.[4]

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[1] *Calcutta Review* (C. R.), IX, 1848, p. 105; Ali Mohammad Khan, *Mirat-i-Ahmadi Supplement* (henceforth cited as *Mirat Suppl.*), trans. Ali S. N., Seddon C. N., Baroda, 1928, pp. 187, 201.

[2] Foster W. ed., *The Embassy of Thomas Roe to the Court of the great Mugal*, 1615-1619 (henceforth cited as *Roe, Embassy*), II, London, 1799, p. 345; I. I. Desai, *Surat Sonani Murat*, Surat, 1958, pp. 23-24.

[3] Sen S., *Indian Travels of Thévenot and Careri* (cited henceforth as *Indian Travels*), p. 164; Baldeus, P., *Description of the East India Country, Malabar and the Coromandel Coast*, published in Churchill, Voyages and Travels, III, London, 1750 (cited henceforth as Baldeus, *Description*), p. 520; Crooke, W. ed., *A New Account of East India and Persia being Nine Years Travels*, 1672-1681 by Fryer John (cited henceforth as Fryer, *A New Account*), I, Liechtenstein, 1967, p. 267; Roe, *Embassy*, p. 345; Rawlinson H. G., *Jean de Thévenot's account of Surat* (cited henceforth as Thévenot, *Account*), p. 10; Wilcocke S. H., trans. *Voyages to the East Indies by the late John Splinter Stavorinus* (cited henceforth as Stavorinus, *Voyages*), II, pp. 379-380.

Surat was a a city of medium size which had sprung up on the banks of the river Tapti.[5] The meandering river had caused the city to evolve in a semi-circular manner. In earlier times it had been protected by earthen walls but Franscois Martin records that by the year 1660 these had crumbled away completely. As a result of the Maratha depredations under Shivaji the city was enclosed by a wall made of brick and stone. This wall was known as *Shehrpana*. If had 36 bastions each containing 6 guns. The castle was located next to the river at the southern extremity of the town so that it could provide dual protection against attack by land as well as water.[6]

The Castle or Killa was square in shape each corner being flanked by a tower. The ordnance consisted of 30 to 40 guns. Moats filled with salt water ran along three sides while the river provided the necessary protection on the fourth or westerly side. The entrance to the Castle stood on the western side a drawbridge being let down from the gate on this side to permit passage. The Europeans did not consider the Castle very strong and had a poor opinion of the alignment of the wall. The Commander of the Castle was provided with suitable accommodation while the treasury for the *sarkar* of Surat was also located here. The Commander was provided with 250 cavalry in addition to those to which he was entitled by virtue of his *mansabdari* rank. The average tenure for this office was three years.[7]

There were twelve gates which permitted entry into the town through the wall. Ten of these gates faced the country while two opened out towards river. There were four wharfs along the river—the Gujri Ovara, the Raja Ovara, the Dakka Bunder and the Dutch Bunder. Each gate was defended by a contingent of soldiers and gunners, under a commanding officer.[8] The gate leading to the river just below the castle was called the "chap" gate as all goods entering or leaving the city had to be duly registered here to prevent evasion of customs dues.*

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[4] Bernier, Tavernier, Fryer, Ovington, Abbé Carré and Franscois Martin may be mentioned in this context. Stavorinus recorded his impressions at a somewhat later date but his description is also relevant to the period under review.

[5] Acc. to Baldeus (*Description*, p. 514) the city extended over an area of six to seven square miles.

[6] During the reign of Farrukhsiyar a second wall was erected in 1717 and given the grandiloquent name of *Alampana*. Briggs H. G. *The Cities of Gujarashtra*, Bombay, p. 9; Commissariat M. S., *Studies in the History of Gujarat* (cited henceforth as *Studies*), Bombay, 1935, pp. 83, 92 n. A sketch map of Surat as delimited by *Shehrpana* has been included with this article.

[7] Martineau A., *Mémoires de Franscois Martin* (cited henceforth as Martin, *Mémoires*), I, Paris, 1931, p. 194; Fryer, *A New Account*, p. 249; Thévenot, *Account*, pp. 1-2; Rawlinson H. G. ed., *A voyage to Surat in the year 1689 by J. Ovington* (cited henceforth as Ovington, *Voyage*), Oxford, 1929, pp. 129-131; *Mirat Suppl.* p. 137; Stavorinus, *Voyages*, II, pp. 391-392, 473-474.

Surat was essentially a mercantile town and Islamic monuments, so pleasing to the eye were noticeable by their absence. The town presented a utilitarian appearance and Tavernier records, "In the whole of Surat, there are only nine or ten well-built houses". The *Shahbundar* owned two or three of these, while the rest belonged to Muslim merchants.[9] The counters of the European Companies such as those of the French, the English and the Dutch were located in the inner part of the town but these were also provided with a wharf or "jenghi handar" in the suburbs. As the Emperor did not allow Europeans to own property the foreign Companies had to hire their premises for the upkeep of which they paid from their own resources.[10] There were about one hundred Catholic families in Surat and the Capuchin fathers had a spacious house built on the European pattern with a beautiful church. [11] The Capuchin priest Father Ambrose, was much respected and exercised considerable influence in local affairs.

The houses in Surat were reasonably well built but construction costs were very high. The cost of lime and brick for a medium sized house came to 1200 and 600 francs respectively. Wood was very expensive as all supplies had to be procured from Daman, Flat tiled roofs were popular, the tiles being fixed along strips of bamboo which served as lathes. The more opulent owners built their houses on wooden frame-works but the poorer sections had to make do with light structures of bamboo and palm leaf. The houses of the more affluent were provided with folding windows with carved wooden lattices. Glass was rarely used being an imported item but the use of oyster shells was quite common. Because of the heat windows were usually left open, privacy being obtained by hanging *chics*. Building operations tended to be undertaken during the cooler wet season rather than during the dry season when the heat could prove oppressive. The unpaved streets were wide and level. There appears to have been a noticeable absence of any awareness of civic responsibilities as Europeans complained at the littered and insanitary condition in which the public thoroughfares were allowed to remain.

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[8] Baldeus, *Description*, p. 514; Stavorinus, *Voyages*, II, p. 392. Both Ovington and Fryer declare that Surat possessed 6 gates. Sentinels were posted at each gate to keep a strict watch on all those who entered or left the city. (Ovington, *Voyage*, p. 130; Fryer, *A New Account*, p. 249).

* I would like to express my thanks to Dr. R. N. Mehta of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, M. S. University, Baroda, and to his colleagues, for their kindness in having provided me with the map to accompany this article. The map has been based on material collected by Professor R. N. Mehta for his project on urban history entitled "*Surat—A Case Study*".

[9] Ball V., trans. *The Travels in India by Jean Baptiste Tavernier* (cited henceforth as *Tavernier*) I. p. 6. European authors were unaware of the special position of the *Mutsaddi* in the administration of Surat and when they refer to the *Shahbundar* it is not always clear whether they are referring to the harbour master (*Shahbundar*) or to the civil governor (*Mutsaddi*).

[10] *Tavernier*, I, p. 6; Stavorinus, *Voyages*, II, p. 476. The English factory which is still standing at Surat today was acquired at a later date. The first factory was constructed in 1618.

[11] Thévenot, *Account*, p. 2; *Tavernier*, I, p. 7. There are no traces of the church today. The French travellers ignored the presence of the Armenians as members of the Christian Community at Surat.

The maintenance of law and order was given far greater importance than any provisions for public utilities and Baldeus states that apart from the twelve main gates of the city, each street was also provided with a gate which was closed each night for greater security.[12]

Among the larger edifices in Surat were the two Customs Houses, the Mint and the three Caravanserais. Commodities coming by land and sea, i.e. articles which were brought into Surat and those which were exported, were taken for clearance to the appropriate Customs House both of which were located by the river. The Mint was situated close to the Customs Houses. Its stately portals provided entry to a large number of offices which constituted a virtual township in itself.[13] Despite the large number of itinerant merchants there were no inns in the European sense at Surat. Kindly patrons had provided three caravanserais and although the donors had intended board and lodging to be free, by the mid-seventeenth century travellers had to pay for the use of facilities provided. The one which was the most sought after by visiting merchants was the one located in the centre of the town. Caravanserais were colonnaded buildings built in the form of a square. The rooms around the square varied in size to suit individual requirements. Travellers could leave their luggage and draught animals under guard when they retired to their rooms to rest.[14] Unlike the military commander who was provided with accommodation in the Castle, the *Mutsaddi*, responsible for the civil administration, does not appear to have been furnished with any accommodation in keeping with his office.[15]

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[12] Ovington, *Voyage*, pp. 129-130, 186; Thévenot, *Account*, p. 2; Fryer, *A New Account*, p. 231; Baldeus, *Description*, p. 514.

[13] Fryer, *A New Account*, p. 248. The Surat Mint was one of the most important ones in the Mughal Empire and remained in usage until 1835. It later fell into disuse and at one point was converted into a theatre. Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

[14] Ovington, *Voyage*, p. 134; Stavorinus, *Voyages*, II, p. 476; Fryer, *A New Account*, pp. 248, 250; *Indian History Congress*, 1950, p. 182. One of the caravanserais was maintained by the King of Kashgar. A second one was jointly maintained by Persian and the Turkish nobles. *English Records on Shivaji* (cited henceforth as E.R.S.), I, p. 175. The third which is extant is known as the Mogulsarai. This serai had been built by Haqikat Khan, the collector of revenue on behalf of Princess Jahanara Begum, in the year 1644. Free accommodation was provided for saints, learned people, *hajjis*, and the poor. For others a charge was made, this money being utilised to cover the cost of maintenance. Foreign travellers were particularly

Surat was criss-crossed by many bazars each catering to the sale of a specific commodity. The cotton market was the busiest one. Wholesale transactions took place in these bazars, the retail trade being carried on by smaller shopkeepers. In the middle of the city, close to the castle, was a large *maidan* referred to by the Europeans as the Castle Green. Here merchants could be found displaying their wares virtually round the clock. The only time when this market was closed was during the monsoon months. Apart from the market there were covered enclosures in one part of this field where foreign and native merchants kept their bales ready for embarkation prior to their passage through customs.[16]

The water supply of the city was obtained not from the river Tapti which was somewhat polluted, but from five wells within the city. The water was drawn and kept in leather bags and then distributed by bullock cart.[17]

Vegetation

As garden houses are often mentioned in European literature it is of some interest to know what could be grown in Surat. The soil was fertile and seldom required manuring but when this became necessary it was fertilised with ashes of dry stubble, refuse, cow and horse dung. It was only in the case of sugar cane that specific care was taken to enrich the soil by implanting a special kind of small fish in the furrows in which the crop was to be raised. Rice, corn, different kinds of palm and other trees, and many varieties of fruit including mango and pineapple could be grown.[18]

Graveyards

In an age when social mobility was limited Surat was an extremely cosmopolitan city, people of diverse origins being attracted to it on account of its

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welcome and there was no religious bar. Members of the armed forces, however, were not allowed to receive any accommodation. This serai was in use until 1857 when it was converted into a temporary jail. (Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 32). The offices of the Municipal Corporation are now housed here.

[15] There is only a passing reference in a letter written to Paris from the French Counter at Surat dated 5th May, 1688 to the effect that the Governor was having a house built for himself. *Bibliothéque Nationale*, *Nouvelles Acquisitions*, (cited henceforth as *B.N.*, *N.A.*), 9352 (f 144). See also Martin, *Mémoires*, II, p. 431.

[16] Ovington, *Voyage*, p. 130; Fryer, *A New Account*, p. 248; Stavorinus, Voyages, II, p. 478.

[17] Thevenot, *Account*, pp. 8-9.

[18] Sarkar J., *The India of Aurangzeb* (cited henceforth as *Ind. Aur.*), Calcutta, 1901, p. 62; Stavorinus, *Voyage*, p. 383.

trade.[19] Social harmony was essential for the growth and development of such a town and it was only after the intrusion of Aurangzeb's ambivalent attitude towards his non-Sunni subjects that the delicate balance between the Hindus and the members of the Muslim orthodoxy was destroyed. The cemeteries of Surat are of special interest in this context as they bear silent witness to the concord which existed at one time.

Muslim graves were scattered being usually erected at cross roads or along public highways. The remaining cemeteries were to be found outside the city at a distance of 300 to 400 paces from Broach gate. Christian enclosures with English, Dutch and Armenian graves nestled close to Persian tombs while the last resting place of Hindu *Saṃnyāsins* was also located nearby. Ovington and Stavorinus record in considerable detail the unique system of exposure of the dead followed by the Parsis. Among the Europeans the construction of tombs soon became a matter of prestige and the Dutch and English in particular, vied with one another in the scale of the sepulchres which they erected in honour of their leading citizens. From the architectural point of view these monuments are scarcely original and according to one point of view the "European tombs.. are in a kind of arabesque style, being clumsy imitations of Moorish mausoleums".[20] The Hindu cremation grounds were located beyond these cemeteries by the banks of the river Tapti.[21]

Community Life

Three groups predominated in Surat—Muslims, Hindus and Parsis. Despite the important part they played in the trade of Surat, Europeans for all their self-conscious swaggering[22] formed a small portion of the total population. Among the Muslims were included those who belonged to the Shia and Sunni sects, as also those of different racial origin such as the Mughals, the Persians, the Arabs and the Turks.[23] Muslims from the Spice Islands, did not merge as easily into the local social setting as their dress and physiognomy made the residents of Bantam quite distinct from the other Muslim residents.[24]

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[19] The flourishing nature of the Surat market even in the year 1689 when the town had entered into decline, may be seen in the comment of Ovington, (*Voyage*, p. 131) "...... all commodities are vendible, though they never were there seen before. The very curiosity of them will engage the expectation of the purchaser to sell them again with some advantage...... ".

[20] *C. R.*, 1848, p. 123. These graveyards are virtually the only extant remains of the monuments mentioned in this paper. The site of Broach gate is very obscure, the Gate in the existing municipal map of Surat being called Katargam Gate.

[21] Thévenot, *Account*, p. 7; Fryer, *A New Account*, pp. 238, 252-256, 294; Ovington, *Voyage*, pp. 203, 220-222, 236; Stavorinus, *Voyages*, II, pp. 471-742, 501-512.

[22] Anderson P., (*The English in Western India*, Bombay, 1854, p. 70) sets out a somewhat exaggerated image of the English at Surat......" a set of cow-eaters and fire drinkers, vile brutes, fiercer than the mastiffs which they brought with them, who would fight like Eblis, cheat their own fathers, and exchange with the same readiness a broadside of shot and thrusts of boarding pikes, or a bale of goods and a bag of rupees".

[23] Thévenot, *Account*, p. 2; The term "Mughal" may be taken to mean those whose racial origin could be traced to Transoxiana, while the term "Turk" could refer either to

The local Muslims enjoyed a privileged position in Surat and like any other group placed in a similar position they appear to have been arrogant in their behaviour towards the Hindus but "their (i.e. the Hindus') peaceable submissive deportment wins mightly upon the moors, and takes off much of that scornful antipathy which they harbour against them".[25] The relations between the Hindus and Muslims at Surat may be viewed at two levels—at the level of the official hierarchy and that outside of it. The relation between Hindus and members of the administration who had to carry out the directives of the Emperor could not but have been unhappy—and both Ovington and Fryer give instances of the tyrannical fanaticism of the Emperor and the ruling élite.[26] Apart from this, however, lay the much broader field of general contacts between members of both communities. At this level, because of the existence of a sense of mutual inter-dependence, communal harmony was promoted. Fryer observed that "......few of their (i.e. among the Muslims) great men or merchants can read but keep a Scrivener of the *Gentoos*. On which account it is the *Banyans* make all Bargains and transact all Money-business".[27]

The social position of Muslims was largely dependent on their ethnic origin. Apart from "white men; Pathan, Deccani", there were those who held the title of Sayyid, Sheikh and Mir. Among the schismatics, the ones who appeared to enjoy the least prestige were the Bohras.[28]

Unlike the Hindus, the life of the Muslims appears to have been far from austere. Their diet consisted of "........all flesh Dumpoked, which is baked with spice in butter", pillau, fruits, *achars* and sweetmeats. In between meals

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subjects of the Ottoman Emperor or to their descendants who had settled in Surat. Since many of the Mughal mansabdars could trace their origin to the same mixed "Muslim" ancestry, members belonging to this group in Surat could not be regarded as foreign in the same sense as the Europeans. The quick assimilation of such foreigners within the Mughal cultural mainstream is seen in the case of the refractory Turkish Governor who sought refuge in Surat. In April 1669 the Turkish Governor of Basra, a subordinate of the Ottoman Pasha of Baghdad, broke out into rebellion. The Pasha crushed the revolt in the same year, on which the Governor fled to Surat. Aurangzeb welcomed the fugitive and promised to absorb him into the imperial mansabdari system. Martin, *Mémoires*, I, pp. 199, 206, 210-211; Fryer, *A New Account*, pp. 383-384.

[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 268-269.

[25] Ovington, *Voyage*, p. 140.

[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 139-140; Fryer, *A New Account*, pp. 274-275.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 282.

[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 233-234. This observation is difficult to accept. Several Bohras enjoyed considerable affluence and their participation in the commercial life of the city could not be overlooked.

guests were regaled with coffee, tobacco, and *pan*, the latter not only making the breath fragrant but imparting "a rare vermilion to the lips". They adjusted their life style to the climate as is shown by the statement, "They are great Revellers by Night, in the heat of the Day they sleep and dally". Although in public they showed every respect for the Koranic injunction against drink they did not show the same absteniousness in private[29] for "........not content with such little glasses as we drink out of (i.e. the Europeans)........ out of the Bottle will they Tipple till they are well warmed". Fryer admired the rich attire of the men but did not take kindly to the *churidars* worn by the Muslim women. Like all the other native women at Surat, the Muslim women also wore a great deal of jewellery, preferring to set their gems in silver rather than in gold.[30] At times of prayer, and there was the strictest observance of this ritual, both sexes cast aside all sumptuousness and approached their Maker as simply clad as possible.

Muslim houses were richly adorned with rugs and carpets. Guests, who had to remove their shoes before entering the main hall, were entertained around a fountain. The hosts perfumed themselves with the most exquisite essences of sandalwood and orange while they doused their visitors with generous quantities of rosewater. Velvet boulsters were provided for it was customary to sit cross-legged on the floor. Chairs were used infrequently as it was considered the surest sign of illbreeding if any portion of the feet or legs were crudely exposed to view while reclining. Despite the low position accorded to women, marriage provided the occasion of much pomp and display. Muslim midwives, who were distinguished by the tufts of silk on their footgear, assisted at the time of delivery. Professional mourners were hired at the time of death and once a month the widow would offer *halwa* at the grave of her husband.[31]

The life style of the Hindus, despite a few superficial resemblances, was in essence diametrically opposed to that of the Muslims. Since Europeans came into contact almost exclusively with members of the bania caste they tend to give the most information about this section of the Hindus. It is also possible that in view of the essentially commercial nature of the city, Hindu corporate life may have tended to have been dominated by the members of this caste. An Englishman gives a quaint description of his first reaction to this caste, "...... a people presented themselves to mine eyes cloathed in linnen garments, somewhat low descending, of gestures and garbe, as I may say maindenly and well nigh effem'nate, of a countenance shy and somewhat estranged, yet smiling out a glosed and bashful familiarity……I asked what manner of people these were, so strangely notable and notably strange? Reply was made, they were Banias".[32] Ovington describes them as being "obsequious, humble and patient to a miracle" content to receive rather than give abuse. It was perhaps because they assumed this veil of utter obsequiousness that Hindus were able to prevent any serious inroads into their traditional way of life. English letter writers state that the community was organised into a caste council headed by a Mahajan.[33]

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[29] Fryer appears unaware of the fact that Aurangzeb had proscribed the consumption of liquor soon after his second coronation in 1659. Sarkar J., *A History of Aurangzeb*, (cited henceforth as *Aur.*,), III, pp. 28, 83).

[30] It remains a mystery as to how the Europeans could record their impressions of Muslim women who must have been in strict *purdah*.

[31] Fryer, *A New Account*, pp. 234-238.

[32] Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

Banias were thrifty to a fault and even though some of them were undoubtedly the owners of vast wealth,[34] they shunned all luxury and lived in extreme simplicity. This austerity was partly moulded by religious influences but the most potent factor appeared to have been the desire to remain as inconspicuous as possible so as to avoid the rapacious arm of the government. The Europeans remarked on the quick, lively intelligence of the Hindus with whom they came into contact for not only were they able to make mental calculations with remarkable facility, but had no difficulty in copying any prototype to them. This could be seen in the activities of the tailor who stitched clothes in the European fashion, the hair-dresser who coped with European demands, and the ship builder who used his expertise to fashion crafts to European specification.[35]

Ahiṃsā was the guiding principle in the life of the banias[36] whose food consisted of simple vegetarian fare.[37] *Dye* (Dahi), *Kitcheree* (Khitcheree), and sweetmeats served on disposable leaves, constituted the main meal, although on occasion this diet was supplemented by *pilau* and *sherbet*. Asafoetida, which the Europeans found hard to stomach, was widely used as a flavouring as also for the medical properties attributed to it. For drinking, banias preferred to store rain water rather than consume well or river water. The Europeans could not but wonder at the extraordinary respect accorded to the cow but what left them utterly perplexed was the manifold usage to which cow-dung was put. This led a disgusted Ovington to remark that banias used "stale of cow..as..a Moorman....Rosewater".[38]

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[33] *E. R. S.*, p. 138. The English letter writers were not fully cognizant of the complex organisation of the Bania community. Monetary affairs were dealt with by guild merchants. Guilds were formed by leading merchants called *Mahajans* who made it their business to fix rates of exchange and discount, and levy fees on certain transactions the proceeds of which were used to support various humane and religious activities. The head of the community was called *Nagarsheth* rather than *Mahajan*. The settlement of social disputes called for another kind of organisation. Representatives were selected from among the leading families of each sub-sect. These men were given the title of *patels* then chose four to five members from each community and it was this body which adjudicated on all internal disputes. *Gazeteer of Bombay Presidency*, IX, pt. I, pp. 95-96. This organisation offered little scope for Mughal interference as the majority of the disputes would be settled within the community.

[34] The locality in Surat where Banias resided was known as Saudagar-pura. Leach E., Mukherjee S. N., *Elites in South Asia*, Cambridge University Press, p. 208, Commissariat, (*Studies*, p. 91) refers to it as Sodagarwad. A portion of the city still retains this name.

[35] Ovington, *Voyage*, pp. 147, 163-164, 166-167, 187-188.

[36] No distinction is made between Hindu and Jain and the latter appear to have been included in the category of Hindus.

[37] Even the richest banias showed a remarkable frugality in food habits. Several of the English brokers who were known to possess between Rs. 15 to 30 lakhs were content to spend only Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 4,000 a year on food. Ovington, *Voyage*, p. 188.

Banias preferred to keep their wealth in liquid assets or in the form of jewellery rather than sink it into real estate. Bullion was either hoarded or invested in monetary transactions of a speculative nature. As the returns from foreign trade were higher than those from internal trade the shroffs created no difficulties when foreign traders approached them for loans. This facilitated the trading operations of the three European companies at Surat a great deal.[39] It was only in the profusion with which they decked their womenfolk in jewellery that they made a departure from their code of strict avoidance of any ostentatious display of wealth. Fryer was full of praise for the skill of the Indian jeweller who, despite his tools which were inferior to those at the disposal of his European counterpart, could nevertheless fashion articles of far greater intricacy. The habit of wearing jewellery permeated down to even the poorest members of the community. The latter found it possible to satisfy their craving as their dietary requirements involved a very small outlay of expenditure. The *sūdras* to whom Europeans referred as "Halalchors" performed identical functions both for Muslims as well as for Hindus. They bore the inequitable treatment meted out to them with a great deal of fortitude.[40]

European travellers were greatly intrigued by the Parsi residents of Surat and were well aware of the early migration of this community from Persia. In describing their religion, the term Zoroastrian was not used. The Parsis were called "Gaures" or "Ateshperesht", the worshippers of fire.[41] Although both Ovington and Stavorinus give many interesting details about Parsi houses of the dead[42] they are noticeably silent on Parsi religious ritual. Doubtless the policy of rigorous exclusion of all non-Parsis from Fire Temples defeated even their ingenuity. Stavorinus noted that it was very difficult to know very much about the community life of this group as no stranger was permitted to enter the Parsi wards in the town. Parsis were noted for their industry and a notable feature was the absence of any Parsi beggars. Their main occupations were agriculture, manufacture and trade. The best weavers in Surat were members of this community and most of the silks and other fabrics in Surat were woven by them. Some of the Parsi merchants could be included among the leading businessmen of Surat.[43] At the other end of the scale were those who worked as domestic servants in European households, on a monthly pay of five six-dollars exclusive of food. Marriage was strictly monogamous and the dowry system was unknown. Inter-marriage was proscribed as a result of which racial purity was preserved, the Parsis being " much fairer than either the Moors or Gentoos ".[44]

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[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 175, 177, 183, 231-232; Fryer, *A New Account*, p. 231.

[39] Tavernier, I, p. 31; *E.R.S.*, p. 172; Bhargava, *Indigenous Banking in Ancient and Medieval India*, Bombay, 1934, p. 138; Fryer, *A New Account*, p. 283; Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

[40] Ovington, *Voyage*, pp. 187-189, 223; Fryer, *A New Account*, pp. 284-285.

[41] Thévenot, *Account*, p. 2.

[42] Ovington, *Voyage*, pp. 220-222; Stavorinus, *Voyage*, II, pp. 501-512.

Among the Christians at Surat, the Armenians formed a distinct group. They had settled in Surat long before the arrival of the Europeans but unfortunately references to them are very fragmentary. Armenians had travelled far from their home country and Armenian settlements could be found scattered from Poland in the west to Persia and India in the east. Because of this wide dispersal the Armenian language was known over a broad region and this doubtless helped them in cutting through geographical boundaries and establishing channels of trade over a large area. They operated either in familial groups or in an individual capacity and " like Jews .... are as subtle and diligent in their Traffic".[45] Armenians could be regarded as a kind of cultural bridge through whom Europeans found it easy to reach out to the native Indians, for despite their Asiatic way of life, the majority of the Armenians remained wedded to their religion of Orthodox Christianity. Some of them had seemingly Muslim appelations but this did not necessarily denote any change of faith.[46] Surat was their first permanent settlement in India and they are known to have erected two churches here.[47] The Armenians did not establish counters like the Europeans and were incapable of any organised self-defence. They were, therefore, unable to retaliate when they were exposed to the callous treatment of the administration and were ultimately displaced by the more aggressive Europeans.

Food and Health

Apart from specific details about the diet of Muslims and Hindus there are also remarks of a more general nature pertaining to the fare which tickled the palates of Christians and Muslims. The meat of the cow was preferred to that of the ox as the latter was utilised more as a draught animal. Other kinds of meat which were available were mutton, chicken, pigeon, pork and all kinds of game. The oil which was most commonly consumed was the oil of *cnicus silvestris* or cartame, sesame oil ranking next in popularity.[48] The country liquor and wine was not of very good quality. Rice, sugar and dates were used for the distillation of liquor, the most common variety being that obtained from a mixture of jaggery, water and the bark of the Babul tree. The choicest wines and the most expensive ones, were those which were imported from Shiraz and the Canaries. One bottle of these could cost between six to seven crowns. To European tastes, the most unfamiliar drink in Surat must have been tea, which was a popular indigenous refreshment. Among the many varieties of fruit pineapple was available in abundance. Flowers proliferated and an added attraction was constituted by the many perfumes of high quality and infinite variety.[49]

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[43] The Parsi Rustomjis were as well known as the Paraks (bania) or the Chellabys (Turkish). Leach and Mukherji, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

[44] Stavorinus, *Voyages*, II, pp. 494-497, 490, III, p. 2; Ovington, *Voyage*, p. 219.

[45] *Ibid.*, pp. 133-134.

[46] Thévenot (*Account*, p. 4) refers to the Armenian, Koja Minhas of Surat while Ovington (*Voyage*, p. 241) singles out Isa Quli, as the leading Armenian at court. There is also a reference to an Armenian broker, Iskandar, at Surat but it is uncertain whether he had accepted Islam or had chosen to remain within his own church. (*Journal of Indian History*, 40, 1962, p. 283). In this context a study of the Armenian inscriptions at Surat would doubtless reveal a great deal of information.

[47] Seth, J. *A History of the Armenians in India*, Calcutta, 1895, pp. 27-28, 33.

Surat was not noted for its salubrious climate and the residents of the town had their share of ill-health. Life expectancy was not very high and the most common disorders were dysentery and fever. Periodic pestilences wiped out large numbers and during one of these epidemics there were as many as 300 deaths per day. Europeans were particularly susceptible to fever, cholera and *barbiers*—the latter being a kind of palsy which afflicted the unwary foreigner who slept on the ground and exposed himself to the rank humidity prevalent particularly during the monsoon and post-monsoon periods. Frequent visits to the *hamam* were considered an essential antidote for this disease. Europeans did not distinguish between the *unani* and *ayurvedic* systems of medicine. The knowledge of anatomy and surgery in India was not considered to be as advanced as in contemporary Europe. The examination of urine as an aid to correct diagnosis was totally neglected. Some attention was paid to the pulse rate but the Indian doctors proved far less skilful than the Chinese in this field. The administration of cooling herbs and *Congy* (Kanji) was preferred to that of blood-letting as a remedy. Among common medicines was the bark of a tree known as the " alluh "[50] a universal remedy for all types of fever, and a garlic and ginger suspension in butter which was given as a tonic restorative to counteract general debility.[51]

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[48] Thévenot, *Account*, p. 3. I have been unable to identify *cnicus silvestris*. In Watt's *Dictionary of Economic Products of India* there is a reference to *cnicus arvensis* from which an inferior cooking oil was obtained. Watt identifies Cartame, the synonym used by Thévenot, with Safflower and Thévenot probably had Safflower oil in mind when he made this statement.

[49] Thévenot, *Account*, p. 3; Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 103; Ovington, *Voyage*, pp. 231-232; Sarkar, *Ind. Aur.*, p. 62.

[50] This is probably a reference to Aloes-wood or *Eagle-wood*. See *Hobson-Jobson*.

[51] Ovington, *Voyage*, pp. 203-206; Fryer, *A New Account*, pp. 263, 286-287; Stavorinus, *Voyages*, III, pp. 6-7.

City administration

With regard to the administrative organisation of Surat the testimony of the foreign writers forms a very useful supplement to the material available in the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*. Whereas the latter provides the constitutional framework, the foreign travellers left vivid accounts of the day to day workings of the administration.[52] The civil governor of Surat, also called the *mutasaddi*, was quite independent of the military governor. The two most important functions of the *mutasaddi* were the receiving of petitions, which carried with it certain judicial functions, and the collection of customs. A subsidiary function of the Governor, as stated by Manucci, was that of securing a supply of rarities and beautiful objects for the Emperor who required a ready stock of these for presentation purposes. European curiosities for the procurement of which the port of Surat constituted the most important centre, were much in demand. As no edifice is specifically mentioned as constituting the official headquarters of the *mutsaddi* it is difficult to surmise where he carried on his work.[53]

The Governor appeared each morning with much fanfare at his seat of justice. He kept a large retinue of *kazis* in readiness to help him in matters of law. Only civil cases were brought before the Governor, criminal cases being referred to the *kotwal*. Between 1650 and 1700 there had been nineteen changes of Governorship at Surat,[54] but the representatives of the European Companies were dissatisfied in varying degrees with virtually every Governor.[55] It was only when the rapacity of individual governors exceeded all limits, that the Emperor took action. At other times, the Governors being highly placed individuals, were well able to protect their interests at court.[56] Despite the strict etiquette which had to be followed at the time of audience, the Governor showed himself well able to throw off this excessive formality when he accepted European hospitality. The latter official did not interfare in the day to day work of the *faujdar* and the *kotwal* who were responsible for the maintenance of law and order. Although foreign writers mention other officials such as the *qazi, waquianavis, harkara* and *mufti* they do not seem to have had any direct dealings with these officials.[57]

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[52] See *Mirat Supple.*, pp. 187-188, 214; Ovington, *Voyage*, pp. 136-139; Thévenot, *Account*, p. 3-5, 10, Fryer, *A New Account*, pp. 242, 247; Manucci, *Storio de Mogor*, I, pp. 64-65.

[53] It is not clear if the practice of Surat was the same as at Masulipatam where, according to the French diarist Martin Franscois (*Mémoires*, I, p. 311) the Qutbshahi Governor carried out his judicial functions within the Customs shed itself.

[54] The list of Governors to be found in Gujarat State Gazeteers, *Surat District* (Revised), p. 113, cannot be regarded as definitive as the details do not tally with those to be found in *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* (p. 119), Manucci (*op. cit.*, III, pp. 308 n., 488, 490, IV, p. 155), Khan Ali Mohammad, *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, translated Lokhandwala M. F., Baroda, 1965, (cited henceforth as Lokhandwala, *Mirat*), pp. 261, 278, 280-283, 294, 303), *Dagh Register* (23, p. 84), or Martin Franscois (*Mémoires*, II, p. 306). The list given by Desai, (*op. cit.*, pp. 47, 71) appears more reliable.

[55] This was because of the abuses associated with the practice of farming out of revenues current in the Mughal Empire. The rates at which customs duty were to be paid may have been fixed by Imperial decree but the collection of revenue at Surat was farmed out to the Governor. Commissariat, *History of Gujarat*, II, Bombay, 1957. The Governor would inevitably try to extract the maximum profit and the helpless traveller would have to pay the price.

[56] Fawcett,. Ced., *The Travels of the Abbé Carré in India and the Near East*, 1672-1674, I, London, 1947, pp. 147-149.

The assistants provided to the Governor in the exercise of his functions as Customs Collector were much lower in rank than those associated with him in the performance of his civil duties. This may have been because of the fact that the Governor rarely exercised his authority in person preferring to delegate this function to the *Shahbundar* or Controller of Customs. The subordinate customs officials consisted of clerks who were Hindus belonging to the *bania* caste, and porters and guards who were Muslims

The duties charged at Surat were based on Imperial directives. It is recorded that in the year 1609 a tax of 2½% was charged on general commodities, 3% on provisions and 2% on bullion. These charges were variable but did not rise above 5%.[58] In 1665 Aurangzeb issued a *firman* by which a uniform rate of excise duty was introduced throughout the Empire. All articles worth more than 52½ were subject to duty. Muslims had to pay at the rate of 1/40 or 2½% of the value while for the Hindus the charge was 2/40 or 5%. In 1667 Muslims were relieved from payment of this due. However, this led to considerable fraud as Muslims tried to pass off godos belonging to Hindus as their own, and as a result the due was reimposed in 1680.[59]

European traders were placed in a separate category. Initially they had been subjected to a tax of 2½% but as a reward for their resistance to Shivaji in 1664, the Emperor reduced the rate to 2%. In 1645 by an order of the Emperor it was stated that as Europeans were charged duty at Surat no further duties could be imposed on them at Ahmedabad. This was followed by a *firman* in 1667 protecting Europeans against the imposition of any of the dues abolished by the Emperor in 1659. When Aurangzeb reimposed *Jizya* in 1679 a special provision was made for the Europeans and Armenians as a result of the protests lodged by them. The reduction in customs duty granted to the Europeans in 1664 was now withdrawn. The amount due from them by way of *Jizya* was commuted to an enhanced rate of customs duty which was to be paid at the rate of 3½%.[60] In 1666 the customs revenue at Surat was computed at Rs. 12 lakhs. This showed an increase of half a lakh over the amount recorded for 1643.[61]

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[57] *Mirat Suppl.*, pp. 188, 214; Ovington, *Voyage*, pp. 136-137, 139, 143-144; Thévenot, *Account*, pp. 3-5; Fryer, *A New Account*, p. 242; Manucci, *op. cit.*, I, p. 64.

[58] Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, New Delhi, 1972, p. 273.

[59] Lokhandwala, *Mirat*, pp. 230, 237, 266-268.

[60] *Ibid.*, p. 220; Sarkar, *Aur.*, V. pp. 319-320. It remains a moot point as to whether the increased dues imposed on Europeans was to be linked with *Jizya* or with the suspected collusion of the latter with Shivaji at the time of the second loot of the city by the Marathas in the year 1670.

The Customs House was open each morning from 10.00 am. till noon. All commodities, whether incoming or out-going, had to be passed by the *Mutsaddi*, or his agent, the *Shahbundar*. Each traveller had to submit to a personal examination during which a duty of 2½% was charged on gold and silver.[62] It did not take long for the foreigners to realise that in the absence of a judicious bestowal of presents, unnecesary delays could be created by the customs officials. Travellers were strictly segregated until all customs formalities were completed and a body of peons armed with bamboos, positioned at the point of disembarkation, prevented communication with outsiders. If the suspicions of the Customs officer were aroused he could extract confessions by means of the whip if necessary. On the whole, the infliction of corporal punishment was favoured over that of the penalty of confiscation of property in cases of misdemeanour.[63]

Conclusion

These foreign testimonies offer many valuable glimpses into the life of the people of Surat. In describing the life styles of Muslims and Hindus the foreigners could not sense the intricacies of the Indian psyche. What appeared to them as humility and utter obsequiousness on the part of the Banias was, in fact, the outward form of a far more complex social phenomena. The right to individual self-expression, the pride of the European temperament consequent to the displacement of medieval scholasticism by Renaissance humanism, found no echo in the Indian environment. The Europeans could not understand that social tensions in India did not necessarily lead to stark divisions within society, but were rather contained within the existing framework as far as possible, the individual bending to the needs of the majority rather than breaking away. What passed as Hindu obsequiousness, bordering on servility, in response to the Muslim arrogance of power, was in fact a subtle social equation which made it possible for the two communities to, by and large, live in peace, maintaining the basic culture intrinsic to each group. Despite the blinkers which hampered European vision, the impressions of these travellers form a very valuable adjunct in any attempt made to present in profile a picture of this city which constituted the premier emporium in the empire of Alamgir.

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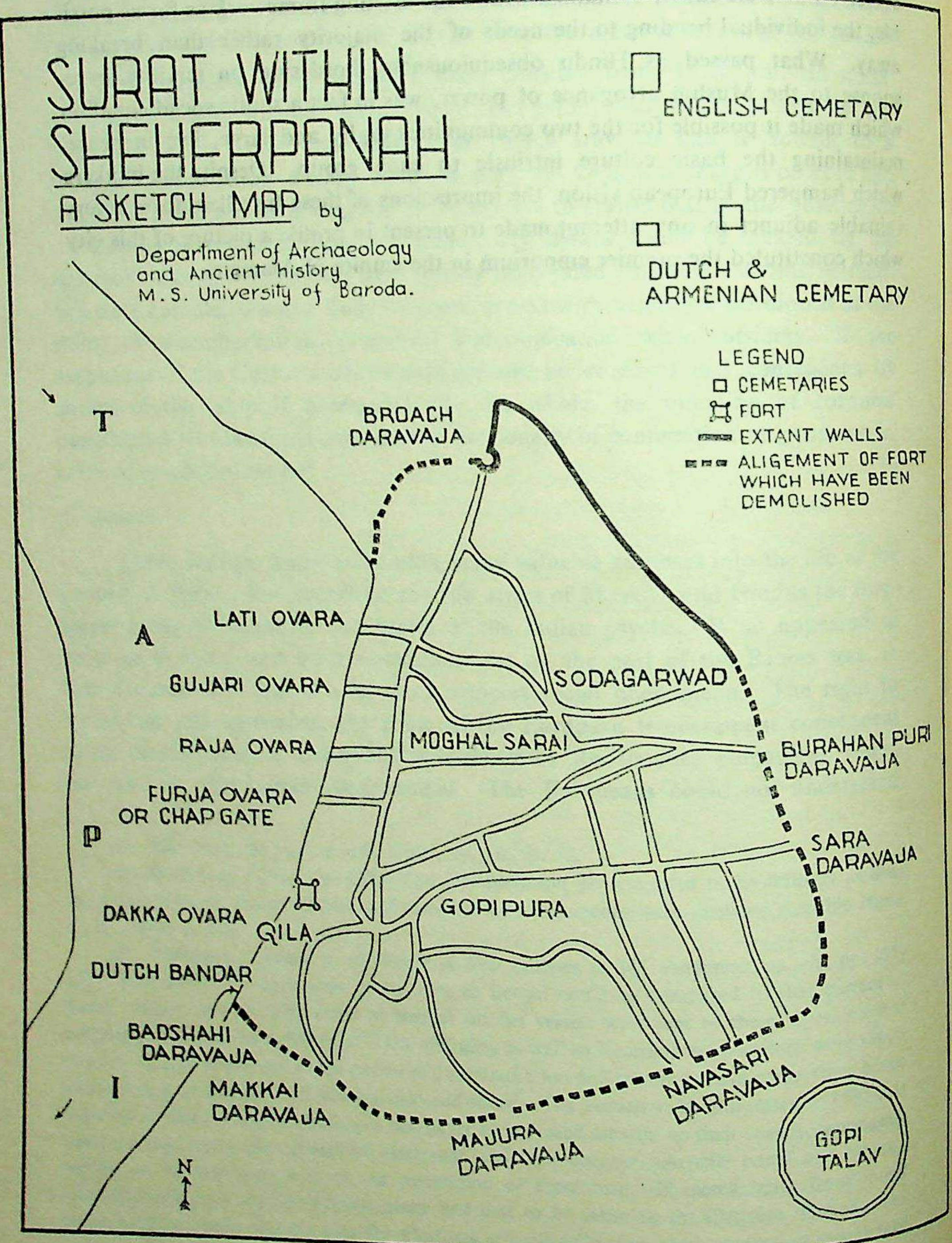
[61] Thévenot, *Account*, p. 10; Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

[62] Ovington, *Voyage*, p. 132. The interpretation given tended to be illiberal as even the gilded buttons found on the uniforms worn by Europeans were declared dutiable items. *C. R.*, 1848, p. 106.

[63] Thévenot, *Account*, p. 10; Fryer, *A New Account*, p. 247; Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-159. The method of collection of customs in Bengal could be compared to that current at Surat. When private ships came to Bengal smaller vessels were sent to them to ensure that nothing was landed by subterfuge. The charging as well as discharging operations were supervised by guards positioned at the points of disembarkation and transference of cargo from ocean going vessels to smaller craft linking ship and shore. The French at Hughli noted in 1692 that although soldiers of the local officials had never been posted directly on their vessels, contingents were stationed near their places of anchorage and their counter. Articles could not be embarked or disembarked without the permission of these men. If merchandise from other sources was secured by the French, these had first to be taken to the Customs House. The bales would initially be sealed by the Customs officials following which inspection would take place at leisure. This caused much avoidable delay to the trading operations of the French. *B. N., N. A.*, 9353 (174).


SURAT WITHIN SHEHERPANAH
A SKETCH MAP by
Department of Archaeology and Ancient history M. S. University of Baroda.
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REVIEWS

Patañjali's Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya Tatpuruṣāhnika (*P. 2.2.2-2.2.23*). Edited with translation and explanatory notes by S. D. Joshi and J. A. F. Roodbergen. (Publications of the Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit, Class C, No. 7). Poona : University of Poona, 1973, pp. 2 + xxiv + 52 + 270 ; price: Not printed.

Patañjali's Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya Bahuvrīhidvandvāhnika (*P. 2.2.23-2.2.38*). Text, translation and notes by J. A. F. Roodbergen. Edited by S. D. Joshi. (Publications of the Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit, Class C, No. 9). Poona : University of Poona, 1974,* pp. 2 + lxix + 72 + 252 ; price: Not printed.

These are the fourth and fifth volumes of an annotated English translation of the Mahābhāṣya begun by S. D. Joshi and continued in collaboration with J. A. F. Roodbergen, the second of the present volumes being a revised version of a doctoral dissertation written under Joshi's direction and submitted to the University of Poona in 1971. The earlier volumes were reviewed by me in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 68.5/6 : 229-238 (1973) and *JOIB* 22 : 225-232 (1972). The plan of the present volumes is the same as that of the earlier ones. The text of the Mahābhāṣya, following Kielhorn's edition, is printed in Nāgarī and separately paginated from the translation (pp. 1-52, 1-72) ; here it is accompanied by the text of Kaiyaṭa's Pradīpa, following the Nirṇaya Sāgara Press edition. There follows a translation (pp. 1-251, 1-229) of both texts, with notes. Each volume also contains indices of Sanskrit and English terms (pp. 253-269, 231-248) and an introduction (pp. i-xxiv, 1-lxix).

These volumes also have the same strengths and weaknesses as the prior ones. The translations are, on the whole, good, readable and useful, as are the notes. The conclusions drawn from the texts in the introduction are open to serious doubts. As in my review of the second and third volumes of this series (*JOIB* 22: 225-232 [1972]), I shall here concentrate on these conclusions and suggestions.

On pages ii-iv of the introduction to the first volume under review, Joshi discusses Pāṇini's rules 2.2.1-2.2.5 and the compounds described by means of these rules. These compounds belong to the tatpuruṣa class in Pāṇini's system: the rules in question come under the heading of 2.1.22: *tatpuruṣaḥ*. Joshi believes Pāṇini really thought otherwise. He says (p. iv): "There is every appearance that these rules have been interpolated in the text of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, not just because the cps [compounds] prescribed here can be derived in other ways, but also because the *tp.* [*tatpuruṣa*]-analysis assumed here is clumsy." Joshi's conclusion thus depends on two reasons: there is an alternative way to account for the compounds in question, and this alternative is preferable to the one given in the rules, which is clumsy.

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* For ease of reference, I cite Joshi as the author of the first volume, Roodbergen as the author of the second, meaning thereby no slight to either. It is evident that both works represent a fairly unified view, Roodbergen being strongly influenced by Joshi's positions.

Let us now examine some of these compounds to see just how clumsy is the analysis presumed in the rules. Rule 2.2.1: *pūrvâparâdharôttaram ekadeśinaikādhikaraṇe* provides that a nominal form (*sub-anta*: *sup* carries over from 2.1.2) combines with a related (2.1.1: *samarthaḥ pada-vidhiḥ*) nominal form (2.1.4: *saha supā*) to form a tatpuruṣa compound; the first member of such a compound is a nominal form of *pūrva* 'fore, front', *apara* 'back', *adhara* 'lower', *uttara* 'upper'; the second member is a nominal which denotes a whole (*ekadeśin*). Further, there is another condition: the two nominals combine if the whole in question is one single entity (*ekâhikaraṇa*). Now, the terms *pūrva* etc. are direction words (*dik-śabda*) when they mean 'east', 'back, west', *adhara* 'lower (direction)', *uttara* 'upper (direction), north'. Here, however, they have the values given, as is obvious from the fact that these terms are said to compound with related items designating a whole; *pūrva* etc. thus here designate parts of a whole. By 2.2.1 are formed compounds such as *pūrva-kāya* 'front of the body', which derives from a syntactic sequence *pūrva-s kāya-as*, whence can be gotten also *pūrvaṃ kāyasya* 'front of the body'. Moreover, the compound is derived as an alternant to such a syntactic sequence. For rule 2.2.1 also comes under the heading of 2.1.11: *vibhāṣā*, so that compounding is optional. Now, there are terms which are used to designate conglomerates (*samudāya*); for example, *pañcālāḥ* 'the Pañcālas (that is, the country so named)'. And it is a fact that one says *pūrve pañcālāḥ* 'eastern Pañcālas', *uttare pañcālāḥ* 'northern Pañcālas.' A term which can designate a conglomerate can thus also be used to designate a part of that conglomerate (*avayava*), as Patañjali notices (Bhāṣya, Rohatak edition, I.49, II.674). One might, then, make the following suggestion. A whole such as a body is a conglomerate of parts. Assume that the term *kāya* can be used to denote not only the whole but also one of its parts. In accord with this, assume further that *pūrva-kāya* can be analysed as composed of two coreferential (*samānādhikaraṇa*) items *pūrva* and *kāya*, both denoting a part of the body, specifically the forepart: *pūrvaś câsau kāyaś ca*. The compound can now be derived by another rule: 2.1.58 (*pūrvâpara-prathama-carama-jaghanya-samāna-madhya-madhyama-vīrāś ca*) provides that nominal forms of a series of items beginning with *pūrva* combine with related forms of nominals which are coreferential (2.1.49: ....*samānādhikaraṇena*) to form tatpuruṣa compounds. Such compounds belong to the subclass called *karmadhāraya*

(1.2.42 : *tatpuruṣaḥ samānādhikaraṇaḥ karamadhārayaḥ*). Such an alternative derivation of *pūrva-kāya* as a karmadhāraya compound is indeed suggested by commentators. Thus, Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita (Śabdakaustubha edg 2.2.1, Varanasi ed. II.193, cited by Joshi, p. 12 ftn. 2 of translation) says : *pūrva-kāyaḥ iti prayogas tu pūrvaś câsau kāyaś cêti karmadhārayeṇâpi siddhaḥ* ' But the usage *pūrva-kāyaḥ* is established [that is, correctly accounted for] as a karmadhāraya also; ' cf. Padamañjarī on Kāśikā 2.2.1 (Varanasi ed., II.96). But note that Bhaṭṭojī says *tu* ' but '. The statement cited above is preceded by : *ṣaṣṭhī-samāsâpavādo ' yam/ tathā ca kāya-pūrvaḥ iti prayogo ' nena vyāvartyate* ' This [rule 2.2.1] is an exception to [the rule which provides] a sixth-triplet compound. Thus, the usage *kāya-pūrva* is excluded by this. ' And indeed it is not so easy to adopt the alternative interpretation of *pūrva-kāya* as a karmadhāraya compound. Consider now rule 2.2.8 : *ṣaṣṭhī*. This provides that a nominal form which ends in a sixth-triplet ending (*ṣaṣṭhī*) — a genitive — combines with a related nominal form to make a compound of the tatpuruṣa class; e.g., *rāja-puruṣa* ' king's man (servant) ' derived from *rājan-as puruṣa-s*, whence also derives the alternative syntactic string *rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ*. Now, the term *ṣaṣṭhī* in this rules is a nominative form (*prathamânta*), as *pūrvâparâdharaôttaram* in 2.2.1. The nominal forms designated by such nominatives in composition rules are classed as upasarjana (1.2.43 : *prathamā-nirdiṣṭaṃ samāsa upasarjanam*), and an item so classed occurs as the prior member in a compound (2.2.30 : *upasarjanaṃ pūrvam*). With this in mind, let us now return to the compound *pūrva-kāya*. The primary meaning of *kāya* is indeed ' body ' : the term denotes a whole. In accord with this, one says *kāyasya pūrvam*, using the genitive *kāyasya*. But one says *pūrva-kāya*, using this compound as an equivalent to the analytic sequence. If, now, rule 2.2.1 were eliminated from the grammar, one would have to let rule 2.2.8 apply to derive a compound *kāya-pūrva* as an equivalent to the analytic sequence. As Pāṇinīyas have noted, this is to be excluded. This is the first problem involved in the alternative under consideration. The second problem is this. If one assumes that *pūrva-kāya* is to be derived as a karmadhāraya, one thereby also accepts a secondary meaning (*lākṣaṇika artha*) for *kāya* : a term regularly used to designate a whole can be used to refer to a part of that whole. In deriving *pūrva-kāya* as a karmadhāraya, then, one is in effect asserting that this compound is always used as an equivalent to an analytic sequence (*pūrvaḥ kāyaḥ*) wherein the term *kāya* has not its primary meaning but a secondary one.

The alternative derivation is thus dubious on two counts. Nor is it difficult to see why rule 2.2.1 is in order, from another point of view. The fact is that in a phrase such as *pūrvaḥ parvataḥ* ' eastern mountain ' or *pūrvaḥ puruṣaḥ* ' prior man, ' *pūrva* is adjectival and coreferential with the noun it modifies. In *pūrvaṃ kāyasya* or *kāyasya pūrvam*, on the other hand, *pūrva* is nominal and not coreferential with the noun; it here designates a part. Joshi's brief discussion

(p. ii, translation p. 12) hardly jusifies his rather facile assertion that 2.2.1 is unnecessary and interpolated. His claim that the analysis involved is clumsy is certainly unjustified.

Let us consider now rule 2.2.3: *dvitīya-tṛtīya-caturtha-turyāṇy anyatarasyām* (*ekadeśinaikâdhikaraṇe* 1). This too provides for the formation of what is called an *ekadeśi-samāsa :* nominal forms of the items *dvitīya* 'half', *tṛtīya* 'third', *caturtha, turya* 'fourth' combine with related forms denoting wholes, provided the whole is a single entity, to form tatpuruṣa compounds. This rule explicitly states *anyatarasyām* 'optionally'. This is a different option from the one provided for by 2.1.11 (*vibhāṣā*). The latter is what is called a great option (*mahā-vibhāṣā*), allowing that a compound alternates with a syntactic sequence. The option provided in 2.2.3, on the other hand, has to do with optional kinds of compounds : since the formation of a tatpuruṣa compound by 2.2.3 is optional, one can also apply rule 2 2.8 (*ṣaṣṭhī*) to form another compound, both of which alternate with syntactic sequences. Thus, for example : *dvitīya-bhikṣā* 'half of an alms offering', *bhikṣā-dvitīyam* 'id', both alternants of *dvitīyaṃ bhikṣāyāḥ* (or *bhikṣāyā dvitīyam*). This is obviously different from *dvitīyā bhikṣā* 'second alms.' As in the first case discussed, we have here again an adjective (ordinal) *dvitīya* 'second' which is coreferential with the noun it modifies and a nominal *dvitīya* 'half (second part)'. In fact, we have here to do with different derivates, differently accented. The mere ordinal *dvitīya* contains the taddhita affix *tīya* (5.2.54 : *dves tīyaḥ*) introduced to form a derivate meaning 'the completion of..' (5.2.48 : *tasya pūraṇe...*), and is accented *dvitíya* (3.1.3 : *ādy-udāttaś ca*). By 5.3.48 (*pūraṇād bhāge tīyād an*), the taddhita affix *a*N (*a* marked with *n*) is introduced to a derivate in-*tīya* having the meaning 'completion' if this designates a part (*bhāga*)– the nth part. Thus is formed *dvitīya-a.* The affix *a*N conditions the deletion of-*a* (6.4.48 : *yasyêti ca*). In addition, since this is marked with *n*, a derivate formed with it has a high pitched first vowel (6.1.197 : *ñnity ādir nityam*) : *dvítīya.*

A complication arises here. Rule 2.2.11 (*pūraṇa-guṇa-suhitârthasad-avyaya-tavya-samānādhikaraṇena* [*na* 10, *ṣaṣṭhī* 8]) provides that, contrary to 2.2.8, a genitive form does not (*na*) combine with certain related nominal forms in compositions. Among these are items which have the meaning 'completion' (*pūraṇa*), that is ordinals. One might, then, wonder why, in 2.2.3, Pāṇini provides for an optional composition, as noted above. For 2.2.3 is an exception to 2.2.8 and 2.2.11 is another exception to this, so that an ordinal such as *dvitīya* does form a compound by 2.2.8, else this would be without a purpose. Another possibility to be considered—and as far as I can see this has not occurred to Joshi—is that by *pūraṇa* (*-artha*) in 2.2.11 is meant an item which has only the meaning 'completion, that is a pure ordinal, not an item used to denote a part (*bhāga*). In order to allow two optional compounds, then, it becomes necessary to state *anyatarasyām* in 2.2.3.

Here again the possibility is entertained that a compound such as *dvitīya-bhikṣā* accounted for by 2.2.3 can equally well be derived as a karmadhāraya compound (by 2.1.57). Thus, for example, in his Padamañjarī on Kāśikā 2.2.3 (II. 101), Haradatta gives the following suggestion. If *bhikṣā* is used in a secondary meaning with reference to a part of an alms, then it can be coreferential with *dvitīyā*, so that *dvitīya-bhikṣā* is derived as a karmadhāraya ; but to derive *bhikṣā-dvitīya* by 2.2.8, one lets *bhikṣā* have its primary meaning, so that it refers to an entirety of alms. [*ayam api yogaḥ śākyo'vaktum/katham/ samudāyâvayavayor aupacārike sāmānādhikaraṇye sati dvitīya-bhikṣâdi siddham/ mukhyârtha-vṛttau ṣaṣṭhī-samāse tu bhikṣā-dvitīyam ity ādi bhaviṣyatîti*]. Yet this is certainly not a very attractive suggestion. As I noted above, rule 2.2.3 provides an optional composition, so that this rule only optionally blocks 2.2.8. If, then, *dvitīya-bhikṣā* and *bhikṣā-dvitīya* are alternants, it should not be the case that one compound involves a term used in its primary meaning while the other involves the same term used in a secondary meaning. Yet this is precisely what the alternative proposed requires one to accept. Moreover, the alternative proposal obscures an important distinction, between an ordinal *dvitīya* and a nominal *dvitīya* meaning 'second part: half'. Once more, then, I think it is rather too facile of Joshi to say (p. iii). "But to have the form *dvitīyabhikṣā*, we do not require the special prescription of *ekadeśisamāsa*."

Let us turn now to rule 2.2.5 (*kālāḥ perimāṇinā*), whereby nominal forms of terms designating time (*kāla*) combine with a related nominal denoting that with respect to which there is a measure (*parimāṇin*), to form a tatpuruṣa compound, this composition again being optional. The rule accounts for a derivate such as *māsa-jāta* ('one month old'), which is equivalent to and alternates with a syntactic sequence *māso-jātasya* or *jātasya-māsaḥ*. A sentence *jātasya-māsaḥ* or its equivalent compound *māsa-jātaḥ* answers to the question *kiyān kālo'sya jātasya* (Nāgeśa, Uddyota, Rohata ed., II. 662). The compound so derived has as its principal meaning that of the second member, as Patañjali notes (Bhāṣya, Rohatak ed., II. 661). Now, in a compound such as *rāja-puruṣa*, one of the components also derives from a genitive form (*rājan-as*); and the principal meaning of the compound is that of the second member. However, though both *māsa-jāta* and *rāja-puruṣa* are both thus endocentric, there is a difference : in the latter, it is the first component which derives from a genitive and in the former it is the second component. Concerning *māsa-jāta*, then, Joshi says (p. iii-iv). "The difficulty is that the *tp.*-analysis cannot account for the meaning of the cp. The cp. means 'a one-month-old (child)'. Here *jāta* is the main meaning, which determines the reference of the cp., whereas in the *tp.*-analysis the word *jātasya*, which is a genitive word, clearly represents the subordinate meaning." He therefore goes on (p. iv) to suggest that *māsa-jāta* be derived as a bahuvrīhi compound. "The difficulty can be removed by assuming that *māsa-jātaḥ* is a *bv*. cp., meaning *māsaḥ jātaḥ asya* : '(a child) of whom a month has passed (after his birth) '." There is, of course, an immediate problem with this : Pāṇini has no rule whereby *māsa* would now occur always as first member of such a compound. Joshi (p. iv) therefore appeals to Kātyāyana's vārttika 1 on 2.2:36 (misprinted as 2.4.26 in Joshi, p. iv). The fact remains that no Pāṇinian rule makes this provision. But this is only the more minor problem. There is a major problem. If Joshi's alternative analysis is to be accepted, one must also accept that, in the analytic sentence *māsaḥ jātaḥ asya* corresponding to *māsa-jātaḥ*, *jātaḥ*, participle of *jan* ' be born ', is coreferential with *māsaḥ* and means ' passed '. That is, one has now to assume that *jan* of *jāta* here does not have its regular meaning, that instead it means ' past ' (*atīta*). Alternatively, one would have to assume that a single participle *jāta* refers to two agents : the child born and the month which has passed. But this is reading into a compound what is not there, as Nāgeśa points out (Śekhara, Medical Hall Press ed., p. 225). Once more, then, Joshi's proposal appears too facile to me.

Joshi's procedure and the reasons he gives for his alternative interpretations also bring up two more major points. As I noted above, the main reason for his proposing that *māsa-jātaḥ* be derived as a bahuvrīhi is that this compound is endocentric, the principal meaning being that of its second member. Now, it is well-known that Patañjali refers to a classification of compounds into four types, according to semantic criteria, depending on whether the principal meaning of the compound is that of the prior member (*pūrva-padârtha-pradhāna* : *avyayībhāva* compounds), the second member (*uttara-padârtha-pradhāna* : *tatpuruṣa* compounds), both members (*ubhaya-padârtha pradhāna* : *dvandva* compounds) or something else again (*anya-padârtha-pradhāna* : *bahuvrīhi* compounds). It is also well known that Pāṇini does not follow this scheme.[1] Joshi (p. i) mentions this scheme and also that Pāṇini does not use it. Yet he seems loath to give up some such system of classification, as appears from his proposal regarding *māsa-jāta* and another series of compounds. Pāṇini's rule 2.2.18 (*ku-gati-prâdayaḥ* [*nityam* 17]) provides that *ku*, items of the gati class, and the items *pra* etc. enter into composition with related nominals obligatorily (*nityam*), forming tatpuruṣa compounds. In his fourth vārttika on this rule, Kātyāyana notes (*prâdayaḥ ktârthe*) that *pra* etc. form compounds in meanings equivalent to those of participles in *Kta*; for example, *prācāryaḥ* ' eminent teacher ', in which *pra* is semantically equivalent to *pragata* : *pragata ācāryaḥ* (= *prakṛṣṭa ācāryaḥ*). Patañjali (Mahābhāṣya, Rohatak ed., II.388) then adds that the Saunāga expatiated on this, giving the semantics of other such items in compounds. For example *ati* forms a compound with an accusative form in the meaning 'surpassed', *nir* in the meaning 'gone from' forms a compound with an ablative form : *atimālaḥ* is equivalent to *atikrānto mālām* 'who has surpassed a garland (in beauty)', *nirvārāṇasiḥ* is equivalent to *niṣkrānto vārāṇasyāḥ* 'who has left Varanasi'. Joshi (p. iv-v) claims that it is better to treat all such compounds as bahuvrīhi compounds. He proposes to analyse *atimālaḥ* as *atikrāntā mālā yena* 'by whom a garland has been surpassed' and *nirvārāṇasiḥ* as *niṣkrāntā vārāṇasī yena* 'by whom Benares has been left' (Joshi's translation, p. v.). Joshi claims (p. v) "The gain in treating them [such compounds] as *bvs* [*bahuvrīhis*] is that no special rules are required and that we can maintain a single pattern for *tp*. cps. [*tatpuruṣa* compound], namely, meaning—predominance of the final member."

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[1] For a discussion and bibliographic references, see pages 200, 219 of my *Pāṇini, volume I: a survey of research* (The Hague : Mouton, appearing in the Fall of 1976).

One must, of course, ask just what this accomplishes. Certainly, even Joshi, I think, would not want to claim that a compound *sūpa-prati* 'a bit of broth, curry' should be taken out of the avyayībhāva class (2.1.9 : *sup pratinā mātrârthe* [*avyayībhāvaḥ* 5]) and made a tatpuruṣa because the principal meaning of this compound is that of the second member. If the semantics of compounds cannot serve as a basis for classifying all compounds, it is wise not to adopt such a scheme, as Pāṇini indeed does not. Pāṇini does indeed state a rule, 2.2.18, to derive *atimāla* etc., and the Saunāga vārttikas do nothing more than tell one the particular semantics of items such as *ati* in these compounds, so that there is no question of having additional special rules. The only gain from Joshi's proposal, then, is that one obtains a single pattern for tatpuruṣa compounds. But, as I said, the semantically based scheme of compound classification cannot take care of all cases, so that we have not gained all that much. And would Joshi really want to maintain that the city Varanasi functions as karma, not as apādāna, in the sentence which would show the semantics of *nirvārāṇasiḥ* ? One can seriously doubt the propriety of his analysis *niṣkrāntā vārāṇasī yena*.

The second point I wish to make here is this. It is evident from what I have noted above that Joshi is substituting a different analysis for Pāṇini's. Now, I have no objection whatever to such a procedure, provided it meets certain conditions. One must show clearly what Pāṇini's system is, why it must be modified, and how the alternative proposed avoids pitfalls found in the first. Nor do I have any objection to ones bringing in what Pāṇinīyas have to say. Indeed, I think one should take into consideration their discussions of rules and problems associated with them. But again one has to be quite clear about how what they say related to Pāṇini's system, whether or not it is compatible with that system. And, of course, one must be clear about what the commentators themselves say. Now, in his discussion of the Saunāga vārttikas and compounds of the type *atimālaḥ*, Joshi says (p. v), "The practice of supplying past participles to account for a particular meaning and subsequently deleting them in the process of cp.-formation is not unusual in the case of *bv.* cps.". He then refers to vārttika 14 on 2.2.24 (*prâdibhyo dhātu-jasya vā*). Here, Kātyāyana proposes to account for a particular bahuvrīhi compound type by providing that a nominal form derived from a verb (*dhātu ja*) is optionally deleted after *pra* etc. ; thus, *pra-parṇaḥ* 'whose leaves have fallen' and *pra-patita-parṇa* 'id' are alternants : in the first, the participal *patita* has been deleted. Given the context in which Joshi appeals to this statement of Kātyāyana, the statement of Joshi's just cited can have only one import : Joshi means to derive *atimālaḥ* etc. by introducing participial forms krānta etc. and then having them deleted in the course of derivation of a bahuvrīhi compound, this being justified by what Kātyāyana says. However, as Joshi himself points out (translation, p. 189), Kātyāyana does not introduce participals and then delete them in the course of deriving such compounds. Joshi's appeal to vārttika 14 on 2.2.24 in the context of his justifying a bahuvrīhi analysis of *atimālaḥ* etc., then, is not cogent. Indeed, it is positively confusing,

There is one more rule to be considered with regard to Joshi's discussion of rules 2.2.1-2.2.5. This is 2.2.2: *ardhaṃ napuṃsakam* (*ekadeśinaikādhikaraṇe* 1). The rule provides that a form of *ardha*, provided this is neuter (*napuṃsaka*), combines with a related nominal denoting a whole, if there is a single entity, to form a tatpuruṣa compound; composition is optional; for example, *ardha-pippalī*, which is an alternant of the string *ardhaṃ pippalyāḥ* 'half of a pepper'. In connection with this, we have to consider the item *ardha*. As in earlier cases of rules for deriving ekadeśi-samāsa, here again one has to distinguish between a noun and an adjective. For example, when Patañjali uses the phrase *ardha ekāro 'rdha okāraś ca*' 'a half-*e* and a half-*o*' (Bhāṣya, Rohatak ed. I.81; accusative *ardham ekāram ardham okāraṃ ca*, Bhāṣya I.359), he is using the adjectival *ardha*, in concord with the noun it modifies. There is also a neuter noun *ardha* 'half', as in *ardhaṃ pippalyāḥ*, where this noun is in construction with a genitive. There is, in addition, a noun *ardha*, which can be masculine and which denotes merely a part (*eka-deśa*); e.g., *grāmasyārdhaḥ* 'part of the village', as one says in English 'half the town'. Rule 2.2.2 is, like 2.2.1 and 2.2.3 discussed earlier, an exception to 2.2 8. According to Pāṇini—that is, in Pāṇini's speech—one can form a compound *grāmârdhaḥ* corresponding to *grāmasyârdhaḥ*, by 2.2.8, but one cannot have a compound *pippaly-ardham* by this rule, corresponding to *ardhaṃ pippalyāḥ;* instead, one says *ardha-pippalī*.

Now, in his comments on 2.4. 26, Patañjali (*Mahābhāṣya*, Rohatak ed., II.862) proposes that one cannot derive ekadeśi-samāsa by rules 2.2.1-2.2.3 (*ekadeśisamāso nârabhyate*). To account for a compound *ardha-pippalī*, Patañjali resorts to the by now familiar stratagem : he derives this as a karmadhāraya compound, by rule 2.1.57 (*viśeṣaṇaṃ viśeṣyeṇa bahulam*). But, as in the other instances, there are problems here too. To begin with, 2.1.57 provides that a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) forms a compound with a related nominal denoting a qualificand, the two nominals being coreferential. In the present case, Patañjali proposes to analyse *ardha-pippalī* as *ardhaṃ ca sā pippalī ca*. But note that here *ardham* must be neuter if the proper meaning is to be accounted for, so that one does not have the usual case of a qualifier (adjective) and a qualificand. And, of course, one must now assume that in *ardha-pippalī* the term *pippalī* has not its primary meaning but a secondary one, namely half of a pepper.

In addition, once rule 2.2.2 is eliminated, one will now form a compound *pippaly-ardha* by 2.2.8 if *pippalī* has its primary meaning. Now recall here that rule 2 2.3 is optional, so that one derives either *dvitīya-bhikṣā* or *bhikṣā-dvitīyam*. Given the meaning involved, it would not be surprising to find that in some Sanskrit dialects the pattern of alternation *dvitīya-bhikṣā/bhikṣā-dhikṣā-dvitīyam* was extended to create a pair *ardha-pippalī/pippaly-ardham*. In his comments on 2.4.26, Patañjali says (Mahābhāṣya, Rohatak ed., II.862) : *iṣyate ca ṣaṣṭhī-samāso* '*pi/tad yathā apūpârdhaṃ mayā bhakṣitam. . . .evaṃ pippaly-ardham iti bhavitayam/kathaṃ ardha-pippalīti/samānādhikaraṇo bhaviṣyati*'. And a genitive compound [by 2.2.8] is also desired [as correct], as for example, *apūpârdhaṃ mayā bhakṣitam* " I ate half an apūpa "; so, similarly, should there be [a genitive compound] *pippaly-ardham*. How [then does one account for] *ardha-pippalī* ? It will be [derived as a compound] whose members are coreferential. Patañjali's discussion can be taken in one of two ways. First, it shows that rule 2.2.2, which blocks 2.2.8, can be eliminated, since a compound *pippaly-ardha* by 2 2.8 is to be derived in any case. An alternative is to assume that the analogic development noted above had taken place in the dialect of Sanskrit used by Patañjali, who then found himself required to account for two compounds—*ardha-pippalī* and *pippaly-ardha*—although Pāṇini does not give an option allowing for both. Consequently, Patañjali adopted the stratagem of deriving *ardha-pippalī* as a karmadhāraya compound, assuming that here *pippalī* has a secondary meaning.

Given what I have said concerning rules 2.2.1 and 2.2.3, I think we are required to consider—and very seriously—the possibility noted, that an analogic innovation took place. Joshi (p. ii-iii) does not.[2] He simply accepts that, since Patañjali says *pippaly-ardha* is to be derived as a correct compound, Pāṇini's rule 2.2.2 can be eliminated.

I do not pretend to have covered every pertinent point above. Indeed, there remain some problems which I cannot take up in the course of a relatively short review. However, I think the above is sufficient to cast serious doubt on Joshi's major conclusion—that rules 2.2.1-2.2.5 have to be considered interpolations and that they represent a clumsy analysis—and the way in which Joshi has arrived at this conclusion.

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[2] On the question of historical changes reflected in Kātyāyana and Patañjali's discussions of Pāṇini, see pages 257-259 of the work alluded to in footnote 1 above. I also discuss some examples in my forthcoming review of S. D. Laddu's book *Evolution of the Sanskrit Language from Pāṇini to Patañjaii* to appear in *Language*.

Let me now turn to a brief discussion of the introduction to Roodbergen's dissertation. As might be expected, Roodbergen is strongly influenced by his teacher, Joshi. Thus, for example, on page xix, Roodbergen makes a major claim : "It seems almost certain that Kātyāyana's approach to grammar in general was different from Pāṇini's." In the very next sentence he goes on to hedge a bit, but this bold claim is made. In the first volume of this series, Joshi (p. xvi) made a similar claim : that Kātyāyana has a philosophical bent whereas Pāṇini and Patañjali are essentially descriptive gramarians. Earlier, Joshi did not present solid evidence which could support such a major claim (see *OLZ* 68.5/6: 235-238[1973]). Nor does Roodbergen now present solid evidence to support his claim. Mere repetition of a claim does not make it true.[3] On pages ii-iii, Roodbergen briefly discusses Pāṇini's way of formulating rules in terms of general and particular features, general rules (*utsarga*) and exceptions to them (*apavāda*). He accepts that grammar is concerned with such regularities statable in rules. But he goes on to say (p. iii). "But this does still not explain why Pāṇini chose to devise his grammar in the peculiar non-descriptive way he did. Then did Pāṇini want to account for the ability of the Skt. speaker to produce an indefinite number of correct Skt. words? This seems to be a priori improbable, because it involves the assumption of modern mathematical notions to be present in Pāṇini's mind, even though his grammar works that way." He goes on to surmise that Pāṇini's purpose was ".. to preserve a particular state of language which to him embodied the ideal of linguistic purity, fix that, codify it once for all." We have here an assertion that Pāṇini chose to devise his grammar in a way which s peculiar and non-descriptive. But Roodbergen leaves the reader up in the air regarding just what is so peculiar about Pāṇini's statements and what makes them non-descriptive. Is it peculiar to have two rules R_1 and R_2 formulated in such a way that the domain of R_2 is included in the domain of R_1 and to have R_2 block the application of R_1 in its proper domain ? Is it peculiar to operate with classes relative to operations ? Is it peculiar to use class names to refer to members of such classes ? Is it peculiar to derive sentences showing the relations among their components and how these sentences are related to others or to relate such sentences to certain semantic features ? Roodbergen has not shown this. Indeed, he would be very hard pressed to do so. And what precicly does Roodbergen mean by ' non-descriptive ' ? It is obvious from what he says subsequently that he views Pāṇini's grammar as prescriptive, an attempt to codify and preserve a particular stage of one language. But proper modes of argumentation would require that Roodbergen first specify what kind of grammar he would consider properly characterized as descriptive, then show that Pāṇini's grammar does not meet these requirements, and only then conclude that, because it is not descriptive, it is prescriptive. This Roodbergen has not done. The reader is left with a mere assertion. Moreover, Roodbergen's claim that Pāṇini intended to preserve a fixed state of language is hardly acceptable. To be sure, Pāṇinīyas agree that the Aṣṭādhyāyī serves to characterize correct (*sādhu*) usage from incorrect usage. But this correct usage is itself not homogeneous. Pāṇini does, after all, describe what are in effect dialectal variations when he states that in the view of such and such a certain operation applies. He also states rules, such as 2.1.57 noted above, according to which something obtains variously (*bahulam*). Such rules in effect account for a kind of variation which cannot be captured by a normal either—or optional rule. Where is the fixity here ? And how is Pāṇini here trying to fix once and for all a particular state of language ? I am more sympathetic to Roodbergen's caution in not wanting to superimpose on Pāṇini just any modern notion or theory. Indeed, I hold that a great deal of nonsense has been put forth in recent years by some people who insist on making of Pāṇini now a transformationlist of this or that school, now not only a transformationlist but also a generative semanticist, etc. Yet I cannot accept an argument that is made on purely a priori grounds, especially when, having said " This seems to be a priori improable.. ", Roodbergen goes on in the same sentence to say, " even though his grammar works that way. " Of course, one cannot know directly what was in Pāṇini's mind. One can know, however what he said. And if, in fact, the rules of the Aṣṭādhyāyī do account for an indefinite number of Sanskrit utterances according to some patterns capturable by rules in a derivational system, as they do, then so be it.

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[3] Note that I do not deny there are views set forth by Kātyāyana which differ from what must have been Pāṇini's views, only that the two are essentially different in their approaches to grammar, especially that they represent distinct streams of thought. The problem, of course, is determining precisely what views Kātyāyana held exclusively, not an easy task.

On page xxiv, in the course of a long discussion, Roodbergen says, " To sum up : Grammar may adopt the *kāryapakṣa*, i.e. the generative approach to grammar, or the *nityapakṣa*, i.e. the descriptive approach. " The difference in views mentioned has to do with what is said in vārttika 2 on 2.1.1. There, the claim is made (*vā-vacanânarthakyaṃ ca sva-bhāva-siddhatvāt*) that it is useless to state an option by rule 2.1.11, since it is established naturally that there are compounds and sentences, each with its own proper domain : if there is a single meaning, then there is a compound (e.g., *rāja-puruṣa* ' king-man '), and if there is a relation among independently denoted meanings, there is a sentence (e.g., *rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ* ' king's man '). On the other hand, one can derive a compound from a sentential string (*rājan-as puruṣa-s*). The latter is what Roodbergen here calls the generative approach, the former what he calls the descriptive approach. Roodbergen should also have pointed out that the two are not irreconcilable. After all, by setting up an abstract string (*alaukika vākya*) *rājan-as puruṣa-s*, whence derive, optionally, both *rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ* and *rāja-puruṣaḥ*, Pāṇini is doing nothing more than accounting for the relation between the two. This can be called generative, in a more strict sense of the term than I suspect Roodbergen and Joshi mean. But the claim is not being made that the grammar actually produces utterances and compounds for a speaker: it simply describes relations which hold among different items of usage.

Immediately after the sentence cited above, Roodbergen (p. xxiv) says, "Pāṇini adopts the first [view, the kāryapakṣa]. Kātyāyana the second [view, the nityapakṣa]." Three lines later he says, "To Kātyāyana, the cp. [compound] and the corresponding word group are natural data of language." The question to be asked here is: does Pāṇini then not consider a compound and the word group to which it corresponds natural data of language? Of course, he does. His derivational system is simply a machinery to account for the relation between the two. One could, then, make a weaker claim, the one I think Roodbergen would want to make, as follows. Kātyāyana will have nothing to do with this derivational machinery. To him, a compound and a related word group are simply independent data. There is no use in relating them by means of a derivational system. And yet, as I noted earlier, this selfsame Kātyāyana suggests that *praparṇa* be derived by deleting an element. And this very same Kātyāyana involves himself in defining what is to be called a sentence (*vākya*, 2.1.1 vts. 9, 10), this in order to allow operations to apply properly in deriving certain utterances. One can hardly claim, then, that Kātyāyana will have nothing to do with a derivational system. The much lesser claim that follows, then, would seem to be more in order: Kātyāyana discusses various points of view which can be taken and does so in order to consider Pāṇini's rules, how they are to operate, and what possible faults there might be. Thus, in the course of discussing rulé 2.1.1. (*samarthaḥ pada-vidhiḥ*), he takes up two views of what is meant by *samartha* 'semantically and syntactically related' whether one means there by the emergence of a single meaning *ekârthībhāva*, vt. 1 : *pṛthag-arthānām ekârthībhāvaḥ samartha-vacanam*) or mutual depentence (vt. 4: *paraspara-vyapekṣāṃ sāmarthyam eke*), and the results of adopting either view.

Roodbergen takes up the term *samartha* and says (p. iv), "Practically, Pāṇini's term for what we call syntax is *samartha*." Of course, Roodbergen immediately goes on to qualify this, as he must. It is equally evident that *samartha* does not really mean 'syntax'. The notions of sāmarthya and syntax are clearly not equivalent. Without wishing to quibble over minor points of translation, I think it worthwhile to consider this briefly. In the West, there is a strong tradition of distinguishing syntax from morphology. It is of interest that nowhere in Pāṇinian terminology is there a set of terms which could be considered equivalent to these. In fact, the syntactic relations among items (bases) and their semantic relations are part and parcel of Pāṇini's system for introducing verb and nominal endings. To seek to find a notion equivalent to syntax as some Westerners have viewed this, then, is to an extent futile.

Roodbergen devotes space to discussions of other terms also. Let me first deal briefly with a small point. On page vii, Roodbergen deals with terms which denote members of compound classes. He says, "Pāṇini borrowed the names of these types of cps. [compounds] from earlier grammarians. All of them are significant. The term *avyayībhāva* tells us that the cp. is an *avyaya* : 'indeclinable'." Given what Roodbergen says, one must conclude that when he says a compound name is significant he means that it is to be understood to be an anvartha-saṃjñā. But does Roodbergen mean that Pāṇini himself viewed *avyayībhāva* as an anvartha-saṃjñā? He does not say. He should have noted, however, that, were one to attribute this view to Pāṇini, one would also have to consider one rule vacuous. Rule 1.1.41 (*avyayībhāvaś ca* [*avyayam* 37]) provides that an avyayībhāva compound is called—that is, is classed as.. *avyaya*. If, as Roodbergen would have it, the term *avyayībhāva* tells us that such a compound is in fact an avyaya and one assumes Pāṇini held this, then 1.1.41 is useless. as Patañjali points out (Mahābhāṣya, Rohata ed , II.569). Though this is a small point, its repercussions are not. Let us agree that Pāṇini did indeed take such terms from earlier grammatical work. Since Pāṇini also formulated rule 1.1.41, it follows that he did not consider the term *avyayībhāva* significant in the sense that from this term alone one knows that an avyayībhāva is an avyaya. On the contrary, this term denotes any compound formed by a rule under the heading of 2.1.5 (*avyayībhāvaḥ*). Now, we also know from Patañjali that some grammarians defined classes of compounds in terms of their meanings (see above), and that Pāṇini did not. It would be reasonable... though unprovable... to say that two things go together : the use of *avyayībhāva* as an anvartha-saṃjñā and the semantic scheme for classing compounds. One would then have to say that Pāṇini represents a break with such a system, if indeed this is all pre-Pāṇinian, and a move towards formalism, towards defining classes relative to operations proper to them.

Roodbergen also devotes quite a bit of space (pp. vii-x) to a discussion of the term *karmadhāraya*, which he also considers significant. His own view is as follows. The karmadhāraya compound *nīla-kamala* 'blue lotus' alternates with a sequence of the modifier *nīla* and the noun *kamala* ; for example, *nīla-kamalam ānaya, nīlaṃ kamalam ānaya* 'Bring a blue lotus'. Here, the blue lotus is related to bringing: it is the object of bringing. Roodbergen says (pp. viii-ix), "Every *kāraka or prātipadikārtha* has connection with an action. Therefore the phrase *nīlaṁ kamalam ānaya* is to be analysed as *nīlam ānaya, kamalam ānaya* : 'bring the blue one, bring the lotus'." He continues by saying (p. ix) that first one considers that *nīla* aud *kamala* are construed with the same verb and only subsequently".. the idea occurs to us that the action expressed by *ānaya* concerns one and the same object which is viewed as blue and as a lotus at the same time. That is to say, according to Skt grammatical theory, we obtain the notion of *sāmānādhikaraṇya* through construction with one and the same verb." He concludes by saying (p. x) that *karmadhāraya* should be interpreted as meaning '(necessarily/inseparately) held together by/ involved in (one and the same) action'. This is an interesting suggestion, certainly worth considering along with several other speculations which Roodbergen dismisses (p. vii, note 29). It is also based on the notion of what is called *pārṣṇikânvaya*,[4] according to which, in a sentence such as *darśanīyaṃ kaṭaṃ karoti* 'He is making a handsome mat', one construes the noun and its modifier independently with the verb and only subsequently understands them to be coreferential. Aside from all such speculation as Roodbergen's the fact is that Pāṇini explicitly defines what he means by *karmadhāraya*: this denotes a tatpuruṣaḥ compound whose components are coreferential (*samānādhikaraṇa*, 1.2.42: *tatpuruṣaḥ samānādhikaraṇaḥ karamadhārayaḥ*). And, in Pāṇini's system, this does not require that the components be construed with a verb: one can derive *nīla-kamala* simply from *nīla-s kamala-s*.

Let me, finally, dispel any suspicion that I might here be merely cavilling. I have omitted many minor points,[5] and those which I have touched upon I consider important in the sense of reflecting Joshi and Roodbergen's attitudes. After reading through five volumes of this Mahābhāṣya translation, I think the time has come to summarize general impressions. Certainly, there is sufficient material for this and the authors do show a fairly consistent attitude throughout. As I said at the beginning of this review, I find the major weaknesses of Joshi and Roodbergen's work in the discussions which appear as introductions. This I find a major flaw. For, presumably these discussions should reflect conclusions to which the authors are led on the basis of their work in translating the Mahābhāṣya. Yet I see in these introductions a desire, almost a compulsion, to make sweeping generalizations that are not fully supported by the text: both Joshi and Roodbergen insist that Pāṇini and Kātyāyana are drastically different in their approaches to grammar; Roodbergen simply asserts that Pāṇini's grammar is peculiarly constructed and non-descriptive. I see here also a certain unwillingness to see some obvious grammatical insights on Pāṇini's part. Certainly, any good grammar of French or Spanish would have to recognize that there is a distinction in French between the ordinal *dixiéme* 'tenth' (*le dixième étage* 'the tenth floor', *la dixième fois* 'the tenth time') and the noun *dixiéme* 'one tenth', equivalent to *la dixiéme partie* 'tenth part', and that in Spanish too there is a distinction between the ordinal *décimo*, *décima* (m., f.) 'tenth' (*el décimo piso* 'the tenth floor', *la décima vez* 'the tenth time') and the noun *décimo* 'one tenth'. They differ in syntax. Similarly, a grammarian of Sanskrit should distinguish between the ordinal *dvitīya* and the nominal *dvitīya* equivalent to *dvitīyo bhāgaḥ*. Pāṇini does indeed recognize this distinction and others between comparable pairs in his rules 2.2.1-2.2.3. Simply to accept an alternative suggested by commentators— and a weak one at that—as Joshi does, without considering what is ultimately at issue reflects an unwillingness to come to grips with some of the questions of Sanskrit grammar that Pāṇini has dealt with or else a lack of insight into these questions. Either is regrettable. Turning now to the translations, I repeat that, in general, they are dependable and readable. Yet a question arises with respect to these also. There is some, but not enough, reference in each of the volumes to other sections of the Mahābhāṣya. However, much more integration and summation is desirable. The authors simply stop with each section of their translations and supply summaries of arguments and evaluations in their introductions. They do not do something I consider necessary in such a work. After translating a series of arguments concerning a given rule, one should go on to judge these from at least two points of view: how do these arguments fit with others presented elsewhere in the Mahābhāṣya and how do the conclusions reached ultimately fit with what Pāṇini does? This gets us to the essential question of what a translation of the Mahābhāṣya should be. Clearly, and as Joshi and Roodbergen have obviously recognized, a simple literal translation is useless. The text presents discussions which presuppose a knowledge of Pāṇini's rules and how they are related, so that a straight translation would leave the reader who is not already fully versed in Pāṇinian grammar in the dark. Once one has recognized that a fully annotated translation is required, however, one should also recognise that the ultimate questions to be asked regarding the Mahābhāṣya are: what is introduced here that is new from the point of view of grammar and philosophy of language, on what basis is this introduced, is it compatible with what Pāṇini did, why, and if not, is it to be accepted or rejected and from what point of view? Perhaps, upon completing their projected translations, Joshi and Roodbergen will supply a concordance of arguments presented in different places in the Mahābhāṣya, giving their own evaluations of these arguments on the basis of all the evidence. I wish them good speed. For, it will take many years to complete this work at the current pace and to produee such a summation, which their work sorely needs.

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[4] In footnote 31 on page ix, Roodbergen gives one reference for this, from Lakṣmînâtha's *Prakāśa* on Gadādhara's *Vyutpattivāda* (Chowkhamba ed., p. 21), without noting that Lakṣmīnātha specifically says the view being presented is that of a Mīmāṃsaka. On this view, see also: Śabara on *Jaiminisūtra* 3.1.6.12 (*aruṇādhikaraṇa*), *Mahābhāṣya* (Rohatak ed.) on 2.3.1, with *Pradīpa* and *Uddyota* (II. 758-759, 763-764), *Vākyapadīya* (ed. Subramania Iyer) 3.1.75 with Helārāja, and Paramalaghumañjūṣā (Haridas Sanskrit Series ed.), p. 54, to name only a few places.

[5] I pass over misprints, which are few, and occasional slip which any one is apt to make.

GEORGE CARDONA

Jayanta Bhaṭṭa's *Nyāyamañjarī*—[First Āhnika] Edited and translated by DR. NAGIN J. SHAH, published by L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad-9, pp. 143 + 6, Price Rs. 16/-.

It is quite appropriate that we get a lucid Gujarati translation of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa's *Nyāyamañjarī* [First Āhnika] from the learned editor of *Nyāyamañjarī-Granthibhaṅga*. With this translation he has contributed a valuable work in the realm of Gujarati philosophic literature. Jayanta Bhaṭṭa's NM. has special significance among the Sanskrit works in Indian Philosophy-especially in the Nyāya system. The study of the Nyāya system had become difficult because of the bulky commentories and sub-commentories on Nyāya-Bhāṣya. It had also to suffer much by the pungent attacks from opponents-Buddhists in particular. The advent of NM, was therefore, like a fresh breeze in the shattering garden of Nyāya. NM was unanimously acclaimed with admiration. It is mature in thoughts and poetic in style.

This first Āhnika gives an original definition of Pramāṇa and discusses its various other definitions. Then it indulges in subtle but interesting discussions like the problem of the 'number' of Pramāṇas and the nature of Arthāpatti and Abhāva Pramāṇas. Jayanta's art of examining and solving the difficult problems is very interesting and elegant. It is enhanced further with the occasional flashes of humour. It is therefore, a challenging task to render its translation in any another language. Dr. Shah has successfully met with this challenge and has mostly brought out the spirit of the original in Gujarati.

This translation is free from the defect of being a mere literary or highly technical one. Dr. Shah has taken great pains to make it more explicit and comprehensive, without taking any unnecessary liberty with the original. Some examples are worthy to note :—

Page No.	Sanskrit	Gujarati Translation
2 Verse 8	वचोविन्यास	શૈલી
2 ,, 13	विभूतिप्राग्भार	ઉત્કર્ષાતિશય [: તેનું અલૌકિક ગૌરવ.]
13	फलशास्त्राभिधेयः	શાસ્ત્ર સાથે- વિષયનો અને વિષય સાથે પ્રયોજનનો સંબંધ
14	नानार्थविमर्शः	જુદા જુદા વિકલ્પોનો ઊહાપોહ
22	दुःशिक्षितकुतर्कांशलेश-वाचालिताननाः	દુષ્ટ શિક્ષણ પામેલાઓમાં તાર્કિકતા ખૂબ ઓછી હોય છે, અને જે હોય છે તે વિકૃત હોય છે.
132	अहो निपुणदर्शी देवानां प्रियः	અહો શી મૂર્ખની સૂક્ષ્મ બુદ્ધિ છે ! etc.

This book is divided into the numbered paragraphs with the name of the topic under discussion, at the top of the page. He has elucidated the underlying purpose of almost all the important points in the brackets. In fact these brackets serve the purpose of explanatory notes, that help the reader to grasp and comprehand the context as well as the technical meaning of most of the philosophical concepts.

Though this volume is carefully edited and printed, some misprints do have crept in. A small errata may not be out of place :—

Page No.	Paragraph No.	Line	Mis-print	Correct word
14	21	10	અભિપ્રેન	અભિપ્રેત
27	—	4	कामिन	कामिनी
57	103	3	अप्रामाणं	अप्रमाणं
58	104	Verse 2-a	प्राप्त्यपाप्ती	प्राप्त्यप्राप्ती
71	124	4	जागृहीत	चागृहीत
94	—	2	કાય	કાર્ય
11	—	3	પોતનું	પોતાનું
96	—	4	ધર્મી	ધર્મી
1.7	206	6	नतराम	नितराम्
129	216	8	ભૂનલ	ભૂતલ

The phrases पुरुषमुपरञ्जयन्ती [Para 105] and मणिप्रभामणिबुद्धिवत् [Para 131] have been remained untranslated, and the translation of the last sentence of Para, 182, is given in the beginning of the corresponding Gujarāti paragraph 183. But all these minor things in no way obstruct Dr. Shah's ability and success as an ideal translator. Pundit Dalasukh Malvania rightly observes—"In his Gujarati translation of the Nyāyamañjarī [First Āhnika], we find an ambitious effort to avoid meaningless literal translation at the cost of the spirit of the original. In a way he has shown the direction one should follow in translating technical Sanskrit works in Gujarati " [Foreward).

We are happy to welcome this valuable translation of the First Āhnika of NM, and eagerly await for the translations of the remaining Āhnikas and also of *Ślokavārtika* and *Pramāṇavārtika* as Dr. Shah has dreamt in the preface.

VASANT PAREKH

'*Literary and Historical Studies in Indology*' by Dr. V. V. MIRASHI. Published by M/s. Motilal Banarsidas, Bunglow Road, Jawaharnagar, Delhi-110 007, pp. xiv + 277 + 16, Price Rs. 55/-.

A collection of research articles of MM. Dr. V. V. Mirashi is both an instruction and entertainment. In the volume under review there are 27 articles grouped under four sections : I—Sanskrit Literature, II—Ancient Indian History and Culture, III—Numismatics and IV—Miscellaneous. Whether Dr. Mirashi is discussing the date of a text like the *Harivaṁśa* or aspects of Rāmagupta problem or the identity of the Sātavāhana king Śivaśrī Pulumāvi, or the problem of location of Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā or of the construction of the temple of Mahālakṣmī at Kolhapur, his discussion is interesting, very well-documented and appears to settle the issue discussed once for all. There is always a touch of authority and finality about everything that the Mahāmahopādhyāya writes. Though many of these articles had appeared before elsewhere, yet, a volume containing all these and a few new articles is bound to receive a warm welcome from all students of Indology.

One would, without any hesitation, accept the date for the *Harivaṁśa*, which Dr. Mirashi proposes. So convincing is the evidence produced by him in his discussion of the *pārijāta-haraṇa* episode. This discussion incidentally only brings to the fore the difficulties that face a critical student of the *Mahābhārata*, when he attempts to fix its chronology. The same is true when he proves, controversing the opinions of Dr. Vaidya and Dr. Banerjee, that it is the celebrated Āryaśūra, who has composed the didactic yet elegant *Subhāṣita-ratnakaraṇḍakakathā*. It can also be said with justification that no student of Bhavabhūti will now think that Kālapriyānātha is Lord Śiva. Dr. Mirashi has convincingly proved that Kālapriyānātha is the Sun-God and not Lord Siva. In his article on *Dvisandhānakāvya* of Dhanañjaya, he has thrown light on Dhanañjaya, his Jaina leanings and his artificial composition. In the latter part of the article he has discussed the view of Dr. Upadhye regarding *Śrtakīrti-traividya*. His discussion of the *Nāmamālā* of Dhanañjaya and his conclusion regarding the date of the same is interesting in itself and also because of the side-light that it throws on the deity Gajānana. We have very scholarly discussion of the authorship of the *Kundamālā* where Dr. Mirashi establishes his view that Dhīranāga is a likely name of the play we get very illuminating discussion regarding the cult of Gajānana. On a consideration of evidence available from History about the Kalachuris, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Cālukyas, Dr. Mirashi refutes the views of Buddha Prakasha and establishes his view that Vīrapāla in the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* of Rājaśekhara does not represent Cālukya Bhīma II and he is to be identified with Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Baddiga-Amoghavarṣa III. In his article on *Udayasundarīkathā* of Soḍḍhala, he has drawn our attention towards this remarkable Sanskrit composition which is still awaiting a critical study. Students of Ancient Indian Theatre know that the *Mattavāraṇī* is a problem in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. According to the *Nāṭyaśāstra* the *Mattavāraṇī* is on either side of the *Raṅgapīṭha*, but beyond that its real nature and significance are all a matter of guess work. Various interpretations have been offered. Some associate it with intoxicated elephants while according to Dr. Divekar the *maṇḍapa* erected for elephant fight is *mattavāraṇī*. Professor Subba Rao takes a different view of the matter and regards *mattavāraṇī* to mean a carved row of intoxicated elephants. Dr. Mirashi, however, regards *mattavāraṇī* to be two small apartments constructed on the two sides of the stage with a view to protecting it. Keith and Konow take *mattavāraṇī* to be verandah while Dr. Sandesara and Dr. Shah take it to be a balcony of a mansion from where ladies could have a view of the street below.

In the section on Ancient Indian History and Culture Dr. Mirashi discusses the term *samvacaram vijayam* in the inscriptions of Virapurushadatta and Ehavula Chantamula from the Nāgārjunikoṇḍā inscriptions and after examining the views of Dr. Sircar and Dr. Sharma that it refers to a cyclic year, offers his own view, which appears to be correct—that it only means 'the victorious year'. The article 'some aspects of the Rāmagupta Problem' is very interesting since it examines the view of Dr. U. P. Shah who has given us quite an ingenious and novel interpretation of characters and the incidents involved. Evidence is really overwhelming in support of familiar interpretation that Chandragupta killed Rāmagupta, usurped his throne and married his wife. Inscriptional evidence from the Sanjan and Cambay-Sangali plates of Rāshṭrakūṭa king Govinda IV, as well as the literary evidence from Bāṇabhaṭṭa are very clear. It is very difficult to accept Dr. Shah's contention that Rāmagupta dearly loved Chandragupta and he renounced his kingdom and wife in favour of Chandragupta and that he was identical with Bhartṛhari. Similarly, Dr. Mirashi's conclusion regarding the place where these incidents occurred and his suggestion that it was some king of the Kuśāṇa dynasty who had humbled Rāmagupta, deserve acceptance. In other article Dr. Mirashi has made valuable observations regarding the reconstruction of the history of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty. His conclusion regarding Vardhamānapura, mentioned in the *Harivaṁśa* of Jinasena, about its identification with Badhnawar, deserves to be accepted because of the vicinity of Dotaria. Dr. Upadhye's views lack conviction because the details mentioned do not fit in with Wadhwan. We also get here new information regarding the śilāhāras and the kadambas especially about the civil war mentioned in the Khārepāṭaṇa plates and the political upheavals in the Koṅkaṇa.

In Numismatics he has given us additional information about the light thrown on the history of Sātavāhana by the Wategaon hoard of Sātavāhana coins. Equally interesting is the study of Dahigaon hoard of Kṣatrapa and Traikūṭaka coins. In all these articles Dr. Mirashi has thrown significant light on the Vākāṭakas, Traikūṭakas and the Kṣatrapas and it is no exaggeration to say that these articles offer exceedingly valuable material for one who is interested in writing provincial or dynastic histories.

Of topical interest would be the views of Dr. Mirashi regarding Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā as against the views of Dr. Sankalia. In another article Dr. Mirashi regards the Dhārāśiva caves to be Jaina caves and not Buddhist ones. Equally interesting is his conclusion that the celebrated temple of Mahālakṣmī at

Kolhapur dates back to the 9th century and that it was probably constructed by some Sind king ruling from Karahāṭa. The article about the Mārkaṇḍī temple arouses our interest in a piece of architecture that is not widely known. The last article about the fake historical kāvya, the *Ayyaṇa-vaṁśa-carita* makes us alive to the dangers to which one is exposed by spurious works.

All these articles amply reveal Dr. Mirashi's personality-scholarly, authoritative and tending to be decisive. But the most pleasing feature of the volume is perhaps to be seen in his Numismatics notes where we find the best of human qualities of Dr. Mirashi. He observes (p. 191) "And who does not commit mistakes?..But I cannot even dream of claiming better knowledge than he (Kielhorn) or any of the other scholars whose mistakes I may have corrected". Dr. Mirashi's fairness is transparent in these lines. He observes, (p. 192) "It requires a large heart to appreciate merit in the writings of others" and immediately refers to unquestioned authority of Dr Sircar in the field of decipherment of coin-legend.

Dr. Mirashi's contribution to the solution of many a complicated problem in ancient India's political and literary history is immense of which the present volume is an indication. Students of ancient History and Culture will remain indebted to Dr. Mirashi for this excellent bunch of articles.

T. G. MAINKAR

OBITUARY

Prof. K. H. Kamdar

With the sad demise of Prof. K. H. Kamdar on 25th November 1976, Gujarat has lost an able teacher of history and political science, an erudite scholar and fine gentleman. Prof. Keshavlal Himatlal Kamdar hailed from the illustrious Kamdar family of Gondal (Born, April, 1891). His early education began at Gondal itself and later on he studied in the Fergusson College, Pune. His brilliant academic career was rewarded when he obtained his first class at B.A. and second class at M.A.

Prof. Kamdar began his career as a teacher in the Baroda College and retired from there. An excellent teacher who maintained strict discipline was respected by his students. His clear exposition and high standard of history were admirable as a teacher.

But as a research-worker his clear understanding of the vastness of the field of research and the limitations and strength of humane endeavour were distinctly felt. His analysis was effective and praiseworthy. He often used to remember the work done by him and used to remark " I did what I could with the available facility. Now you who are trained better and has better opportunity should carry forward the learning and research. "

The scholar in Prof. Kamdar was ever active. In his old age and feeble physical powers reduced by a number of ailments, he would discuss Jain religion and philosophy, History and literature with as much enthusiasm as an active professor. His love for scholarship and learning was limit-less. In one of our travels, we sat down for rest at a house in Mathura. I looked up at the board which indicated that it was a *pāṭhaśālā*, I drew his attention. He became alert and called the first boy entering the *pāṭhaśālā* and inquired in his typical Gujarati-Hindi the subjects purused by the student, and asked him to recite from *Raghuvaṁśa*. The boy hesitatingly recited a few stanzas. Prof. Kamdar presented him some *Dakṣiṇā* and himself started reciting the ślokas for quite some time. At the end he told that our tradition of excellent learning had to be maintained.

Prof. Kamdar was a widely travelled person. He would not miss his History Congress session where he was well-known. His scholarship was rewarded by making him the president of local section at Ahmedabad He was a President of Gujarāt Itihāsa Pariṣad. His addresses were throught-provoking.

Prof. Kamdar had worked on several committees and surveys and has written extensively in Gujarati and English. His works are collected in *Svādhyāya.*

Prof. Keshvalal Kamdar's family life was humming with activities. He shared the joy and shocks of life with a spirit of a true Śrāvak. When his grand daughter, a young Home Science student expired, with difficulty Prof. Kamdar bore the shock and showed the fortitude of spirit by consoling others though he was deeply moved.

Prof. Kamdar led a long active life and earned the respect and love of those who had an opportunity to work or stay with him. May his soul rest in peace.

R. N. MEHTA

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